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Mr. GIBBON's
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE,
ABRIDGED.
IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Z ENO and Anastasius, emperors of the east— Birth, education, and first exploits of Theodoric, the Ostrogoth—His invasion and conquest of Italy—The Gothic kingdom of Italy—State of the west—Mili- tary and civil government—The senator Boethius— Last acts and death of Theodoric, - - - - -	<i>Page</i> 1
---	------------------

CHAPTER XXVII.

Elevation of Justin the elder—Reign of Justinian—I. The empress Theodora—II. The factions of the Cir- cus, and sedition of Constantinople—III. Trade and manufacture of silk—IV. Finances and Taxes—V. Edifices of Justinian—Church of St. Sophia—Forti- fications and frontiers of the eastern empire—Aboli- tion of the schools of Athens, and the consulship of Rome, - - - - -	21
---	----

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Conquests of Justinian in the west—Character and first campaigns of Belisarius—He invades and subdues the Vandal kingdom of Africa—His triumph—The Gothic war—He recovers Sicily, Naples, and Rome —Siege of Rome by the Goths—Their retreat and losses—Surrender of Ravenna—Glory of Bellisarius —His domestic shame and misfortunes, - - - - -	42
--	----

CHAPTER XXIX.

Page

State of the barbaric world—Establishment of the Lombards on the Danube—Tribes and inroads of the Slavonians—Origin, Empire, and embassies of the Turks—The flight of the Avars—Chosroes I. or Nushirvan, king of Persia—His prosperous reign and war with the Romans—The Colchian, or Lazic war—The Æthiopians, - - - - -	75
--	----

CHAPTER XXX.

Rebellions of Africa—Restoration of the Gothic kingdom by Totila—Loss and recovery of Rome—Final conquest of Italy by Narfes—Extinction of the Ostrogoths—Defeat of the Franks and Alemanni—Last victory, disgrace, and death of Belisarius—Death and character of Justinian, - - - - -	99
---	----

CHAPTER XXXI.

Idea of the Roman jurisprudence—The laws of the kings—The twelve tables of the Decemvirs—The laws of the people—The decrees of the senate—The edicts of the magistrates and emperors—Authority of the Civilians—Code, pandects, novels, and institutes of Justinian—I. Rights of Persons—II. Rights of things—III. Private injuries and actions—IV. Crimes and punishments, - - - - -	120
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXII.

Reign of the younger Justin—Embassy of the Avars—Their settlement on the Danube—Conquest of Italy by the Lombards—Adoption and reign of Tiberius—Of Maurice—State of Italy under the Lombards	and
---	-----

CONTENTS.

vii

and the Exarchs—Of Ravenna—Distress of Rome—	<i>Page</i>
Character and pontificate of Gregory the First, -	140

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Revolutions of Persia after the death of Chosroes, or Nushirvan—His son Hormouz, a tyrant, is deposed —Usurpation of Baharam—Flight and restoration of Chosroes II.—His gratitude to the Romans—The chagan of the Avars—Revolt of the army against Maurice—His death—Tyranny of Phocas—Eleva- tion of Heraclius—The Persian war—Chosroes sub- dues Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor—Siege of Con- stantinople by the Persians and Avars—Persian expe- ditions—Victories and triumph of Heraclius, - -	160
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Succession and characters of the Greek emperors of Constantinople, from the time of Heraclius to the Latin conquest, - - - - -	191
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXV.

Introduction, worship, and persecution of images— Revolt of Italy and Rome—Temporal dominion of the Popes—Conquest of Italy by the Franks—Estab- lishment of images—Character and coronation of Charlemagne—Restoration and decay of the Roman Empire in the west—Independence of Italy—Consti- tution of the Germanic body, - - - - -	228
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Description of Arabia and its inhabitants—Birth, cha- racter, and doctrine of Mahomet—He preaches at Mecca—Flies to Medina—Propagates his religion
--

A 2

by

by the sword—Voluntary or reluctant submission of the Arabs—His death and successors—The claims and fortunes of Ali and his descendants, - - -	<i>Page</i> 250
--	--------------------

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, by the Arabs and Saracens—Empire of the caliphs, or successors of Mahomet—State of the christians, &c. under their government, - - -	281
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The two sieges of Constantinople by the Arabs—Their invasion of France, and defeat of Charles Martel—Civil war of the Ommiades and Abbassides—Learning of the Arabs—Luxury of the caliphs—Naval enterprises on Crete, Sicily, and Rome—Decay and division of the empire of the caliphs—Defeats and victories of the Greek emperors, - - -	306
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXIX.

State of the eastern empire in the tenth century—The Greeks, the Arabs, and the Franks—Origin and doctrine of the Paulicians—The Bulgarians—The Hungarians—The Russians—Conversion of the barbarians, - - - - -	328
---	-----

CHAPTER XL.

The Saracens, Franks, and Greeks in Italy—First adventures and settlement of the Normans—Character and conquests of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia—Deliverance of Sicily by his brother Roger—Victories of Robert over the emperors of the east and west—Roger, king of Sicily, invades Africa and Greece—	
---	--

CONTENTS.

ix

	<i>Page</i>
Greece—The emperor Manuel Comnenus—Wars of the Greeks and Normans—Extinction of the Normans, - - - - -	350

CHAPTER XLI.

The Turks of the house of Seljuk—Their revolt against Mahmud, conqueror of Hindostan—Togrul subdues Persia, and protects the caliphs—Defeat and captivity of the emperor Romanus Diogenes by Alp Arslan—Power of Malek Shah—Conquest of Asia Minor—Conquest of Jerusalem, - - - - -	373
---	-----

CHAPTER XLII.

Origin and numbers of the first crusade—Characters of the Latin princes—Their march to Constantinople—Policy of the Greek emperor—Conquest of Nice, Antioch and Jerusalem—Godfrey of Bouillon, first king of Jerusalem, - - - - -	392
---	-----

CHAPTER XLIII.

Preservation of the Greek empire—Second and third crusades—Reign of Saladin in Egypt and Syria—His conquest of Jerusalem—Richard the First of England—Fourth and fifth crusades—The emperor Frederic the Second—Louis the Ninth of France; and the two last crusades—Expulsion of the Latins or Franks, by the Mamalukes, - - - - -	124
---	-----

CHAPTER XLIV.

Schism of the Greeks and Latins—State of Constantinople—Revolt of the Bulgarians—Isaac Angelus dethroned by his brother Alexius—Origin of the fourth crusade—Alliance of the French and Venetians	tians
---	-------

* C O N T E N T S.

	<i>Page</i>
tians with the son of Isaac—The two sieges and final conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, - - -	432

C H A P T E R XLV.

Partition of the empire by the French and Venetians— Five Latin emperors of the houses of Flanders and Courtenay—Their wars against the Bulgarians and Greeks—Recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks—Elevation and reign of Michael Palæologus—Revolt of Sicily, - - - - -	450
---	-----

C H A P T E R XLVI.

Reigns of Andronicus the elder and younger, and John Palæologus—Regency, revolt, reign, and abdication of John Cantacuzene—Establishment of a Genoese colony at Pera—Their wars with the empire and city of Constantinople, - - - - -	470
---	-----

C H A P T E R XLVII.

Conquests of Zinghis Khan and the Moguls, from China to Poland—Origin of the Ottoman Turks in Bithynia—Reigns and victories of Othman, Orchan, Amurath the First, and Bajazet the First—Progress of the Turkish monarchy in Asia and Europe—Danger of Constantinople and the Greek empire - - -	484
---	-----

C H A P T E R XLVIII.

Elevation of Timour, or Tamerlane, to the throne of Samarcand—His conquests in Persia, Georgia, Tartary, Russia, India, Syria, and Anatolia—His Turkish war—Defeat and captivity of Bajazet—Death of Timour—Civil war of the sons of Bajazet—Restoration	tion
--	------

C O N T E N T S.

xi

tion of the Turkish monarchy by Mahomet the First	<i>Page</i>
—Siege of Constantinople by Amurath the Second	504

C H A P T E R XLIX.

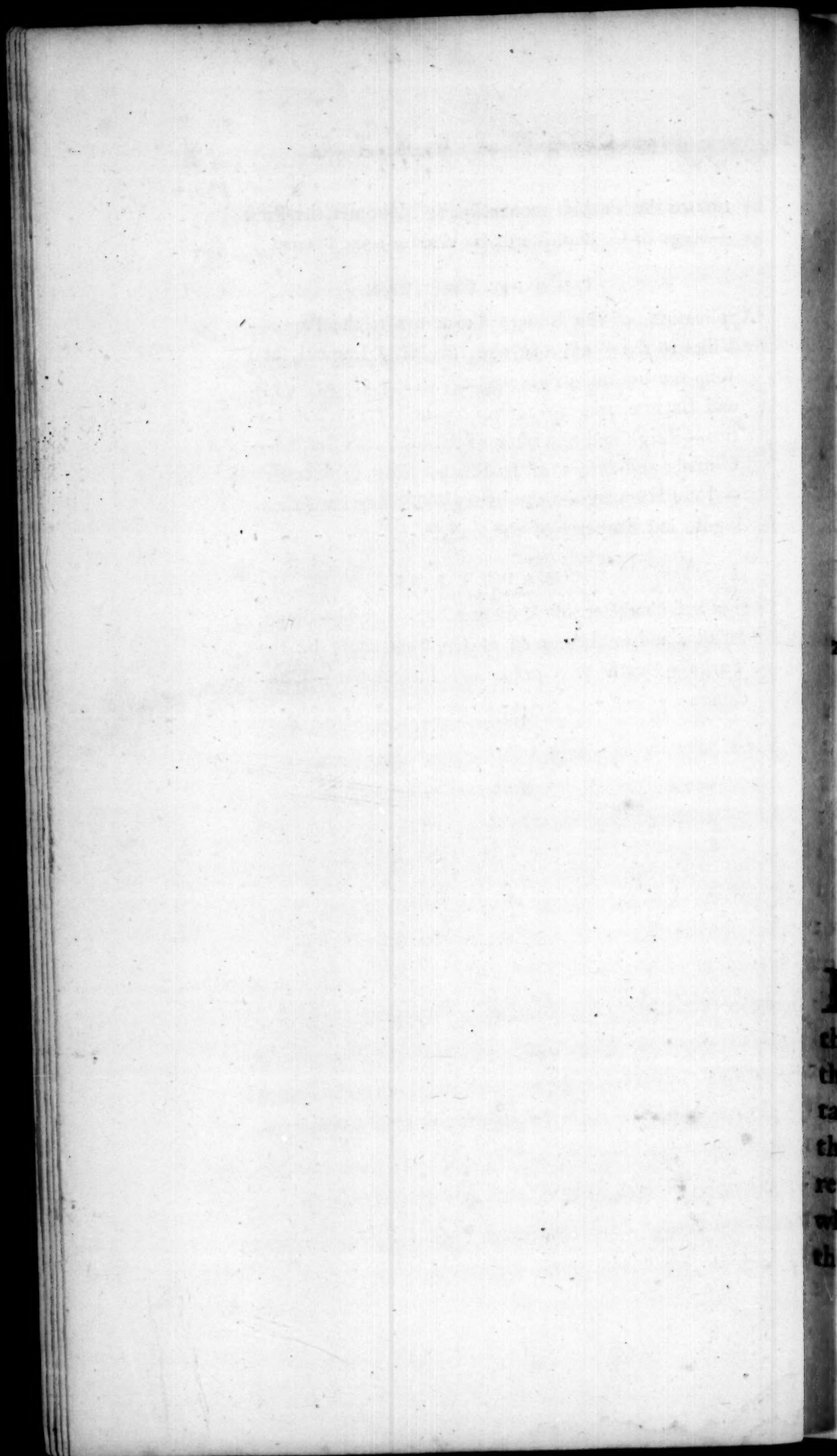
Applications of the Eastern Emperors to the Popes—	
Visits to the West, of John the First, Manuel, and	
John the Second—Palæologus—Union of the Greek	
and Latin churches—Schism of the Greeks and La-	
tins—Reign and character of Amurath the Second—	
Crusade and defeat of Ladislaus, King of Hungary	
—John Huniades—Scanderbeg—Constantine Palæo-	
logos, last Emperor of the East, - - - - -	521

C H A P T E R L.

Reign and character of Mahomet the Second—Siege,	
assault, and final conquest of Constantinople by the	
Turks—Death of Constantine Palæologus—Con-	
clusion - - - - -	542

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THE
DECLINE AND FALL, &c.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ZENO AND ANASTASIUS, EMPERORS OF THE EAST—
BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND FIRST EXPLOITS OF THE-
ODORIC, THE OSTROGOTH—HIS INVASION AND
CONQUEST OF ITALY—THE GOTHIC KING-
DOM OF ITALY—STATE OF THE WEST—
MILITARY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT—
THE SENATOR BOETHIUS—LAST ACTS
AND DEATH OF THEODORIC.

DURING the various vicissitudes and fall of the Empire of the West, the imperfect annals of the East present to us the names of Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin, who successively ascended the throne of Constantinople. Italy, in that period, revived and flourished under a Gothic king, whose fame and merit entitles him to rank among the best and bravest of the Roman princes.

Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, descended from the royal line of Amali, was born in the neighbourhood of Vienna, two years after the death of Attila. The Ostrogoths, after their victory over the sons of the Scythian monarch, by the counsels of the three brothers, Walamir, Theodemir, and Widimir, had pitched their habitations in the fertile province of Pannonia. The Huns, who still threatened their revolted subjects, were repelled by the single forces of Walamir; and the news of this victory reached the camp of Theodemir on the auspicious moment that his favourite concubine was delivered of Theodoric.

Theodemir reluctantly yielded his son, when only in the eighth year of his age, as the pledge of an alliance purchased by Leo, the Emperor of the East. The royal hostage was educated at Constantinople with care and tenderness; his body was formed to all the exercises of war, and his mind was expanded by liberal conversation; but the Gothic youth disdained the acquisition of science; and the illiterate king of Italy, to represent his signature, had the four first letters of his name inscribed on a gold plate; and when it was fixed on the paper, he drew his pen through the intervals. At the age of eighteen, he was restored by Leo to the wishes of the Ostrogoths. Walamir, in this interval, had fallen in battle; Widimir had led into Italy and Gaul an army of Barbarians;

Barbarians; and the nation of the Ostrogoths acknowledged Theodemir as their sole monarch; the ferocious Barbarians admired the strength and stature of their young Prince; and the fame of Theodoric was established by his early and active valour; at the head of six thousand followers, he descended the Danube as far as Belgrade, and returned to the camp of his father with the spoils of a Sarmatian king, whom he had vanquished and slain. But the martial exploits of Theodoric contributed not to relieve the distress of the Ostrogoths, who were compelled by the wants of clothing and food to desert their Pannonian encampment, and to advance into the neighbourhood of the Byzantine Court. After some acts of hostility, their alliance was purchased by a donative of lands and money; and they were entrusted with the defence of the lower Danube under the command of Theodoric, who, on the death of his father, had succeeded to the throne.

On the death of Leo, who dishonoured his reign by the ungrateful murder of Aspar and his sons, the inheritance of the East devolved on his grandson, the offspring of his daughter Ariadne and her Isaurian husband, who changed the barbarous name of Traſcaliſſeus, for the Greek appellation of Zeno. The father was soon elevated to the second rank of the empire; and the premature death of his infant son, as it conduced to gratify his ambition,

A. D. 474.

excited the public suspicion. Verina, the widow of Leo, inflamed the passions of the populace against the unnatural parent. Zeno retired with precipitation into the mountains of Hauria; and the successful Verina bestowed the purple on her brother Basiliscus, who had already rendered himself infamous by the African expedition. Basiliscus presumed to assassinate the lover of his patroness, and to offend the paramour of his wife. Zeno was recalled from exile by the malecontents; the cause and person of Basiliscus were betrayed; and the unhappy usurper, with his whole family, was condemned by the conqueror to perish by cold and hunger. The haughty spirit of Verina was still incapable of repose; she provoked new rebellions in Syria and Egypt, and persisted to the last hour of her life in civil commotion; her turbulent disposition was contrasted with the mild virtues of her daughter Ariadne; who followed Zeno into exile; and after his restoration and death, be- A.D. 491. stowed her hand and the imperial title on Anastasius, an aged domestic of the palace, whose merit was attested by the acclamations of the people, "reign as you have lived!"

Zeno had profusely lavished on Theodoric every favour imperial power could bestow; the rank of patrician and consul, the command of the palatine troops, an immense treasure, and the promise

promise of a rich and honourable wife. The abilities of the son of Theodemir long supported the cause of his benefactor; the arms of the Walamirs, as they were called, had contributed to the restoration of the husband of Ariadne; but the faithful servant was converted into a formidable enemy; and his own inclinations for peace were forced to give way to the clamours of a ferocious people; over whom he reigned, rather as a minister, than a king; and whose unbroken spirit was impatient of slavery or insult.

Theodoric had been tempted by the fallacious promises of the Byzantine court to attack a confederate tribe of the Goths, who had been engaged in the party of Basiliscus: but the support and supplies which had been promised him by the Imperial ministers were withheld; and the son of Theodemir was betrayed by the perfidy of his guides among the rocks and precipices of Mount Sondis, in Thrace. From a neighbouring height his rival, Theodoric, the son of Triarius, harangued the discontented camp of the Walamirs. "Are you ignorant," exclaimed he, "that it is the constant policy of the Romans to destroy the Goths by each others swords? Are you insensible that the victor in this unnatural contest will be exposed, and justly exposed, to their implacable revenge? Where are those warriors, my kinsmen, and thy own, whose

“ widows now lament that their lives were sacrificed to thy rash ambition ? Where is the wealth which thy soldiers possessed, when they were first allured from their native homes, to enlist under thy standard ? Each of them was then master of three or four horses ; they now follow thee on foot like slaves, through the deserts of Thrace ; those men who were tempted by the hope of measuring gold with a bushel ; those brave men who are as free and as noble as thyself.” Such language was calculated to enflame the passions of the Goths ; and the son of Theodemir, apprehensive of being deserted, was compelled to embrace his brethren, and espouse their revolt.

The accidental death of the son of Triarius, who soon after, as he was riding in his own camp, was thrown from his horse on the point of a spear, united the Gothic nation under the supremacy of the royal family of Amali ; but the wealth of the East was unequal to the support of their joint forces ; the subjects of Theodoric expressed their murmurs that they were exposed in frozen huts to intolerable hardships, while their king was dissolved in the luxury of Greece. The sagacious son of Theodemir was sensible of their discontent ; and to avert the alternative of becoming the champion, or enemy of his countrymen, embraced an enterprise worthy of his
courage,

courage, and addressed the Emperor in the following words:—"Although your servant is
" maintained in affluence by your liberality,
" graciously listen to the wishes of my heart!
" Italy, the inheritance of your predecessors,
" and Rome itself the head and mistress of the
" world, now fluctuate under the violence and
" oppression of Odoacer the mercenary. Direct
" me, with my national troops, to march against
" the tyrant. If I fall, you will be relieved
" from an expensive and troublesome friend.
" If, with the divine permission, I succeed, I
" shall govern, in your name and to your glory,
" the Roman senate and the Republic delivered
" from slavery by my victorious arms." The
proposal of Theodoric was accepted; but his
commission was worded with ambiguity, that
left it doubtful whether he should reign as the
lieutenant, the vassal, or the ally, of the East.

The fame of the leader, and the glory of the
enterprize, soon collected the Gothic swarms,
diffused throughout the empire; each
bold Barbarian was impatient to share

A. D. 489.

the wealth and spoils of Italy; but during a
march of seven hundred miles, the Goths were
frequently exposed to the attacks of famine; and
the tribes of Bulgarians, Gepidæ, and Sarma-
tians, who had occupied the deserted province of
Dacia, were prompted by the solicitations of

Odoacer to oppose the progress of his enemy. It was not, till after a variety of obstacles surmounted by the skill and courage of Theodoric, that he at length descended from the Julian Alps, and displayed his banners on the confines of Italy.

Odoacer, at the head of a powerful host, whose independent leaders disdained the duties of subordination, advanced to repel the
A. D. 489. August 28. bold invader; but his defeat delivered the Venetian province, as far as the walls of Verona, to the possession of the son of Theodomir.

A. D. 489. September 27. After a second action fought on the banks of the Adige, Odoacer fled to Ravenna, and Theodoric advanced to Milan; but the vanguard of the conqueror was soon after exposed to destruction by the treachery of a deserter, to whose command it had been entrusted; and Odoacer, for some time, appeared master of the field. Theodoric was reduced to solicit the assistance of the kindred nations of the Visigoths of Gaul; and the daring
A. D. 490. August. son of Edecon was compelled, after an obstinate battle, once more to relinquish the field, and to secure himself within the fortifications of Ravenna.

Theodoric reigned, by right of conquest, from the Alps to the extremity of Calabria. The ambassadors of the Vandals surrendered to his claims
 the

the island of Sicily; and he was accepted as the deliverer of Rome, by the senate and the people. Ravenna alone, protected by art and nature, defied his arms; and the daring sallies of Odoacer for three years carried slaughter and dismay through the camp of the besiegers. That unfortunate chief was at length compelled to submit by the clamours of his soldiers; the hostile kings consented to rule with equal authority; the Ostrogoths were admitted into Ravenna; and the treaty of peace was scarce concluded, A. D. 493. before it was violated by the death of ^{March 5.} Odoacer, who was assassinated by his rival in the midst of a solemn banquet; at the same moment, according to secret orders, his unsuspecting mercenaries were universally massacred; and the royalty of Theodoric was proclaimed with the reluctant consent of the emperor of the east.

The sole injustice attributed to the life of Theodoric, is, his assigning the third part of the land throughout Italy to his victorious soldiers; but even this may be palliated by the example of Odoacer, and by the duty of subsisting a people, who, on the faith of his promises, had transported themselves into a distant country. The Goths, who under the reign of Theodoric multiplied to the enormous number of two hundred thousand men, were irregularly dispersed over the face of Italy, and soon assumed the elegant dress of the natives;

tives ; but they still persisted to use their mother-tongue ; and their contempt of the Latin schools was applauded by Theodoric himself, who declared, that the child who had trembled at a rod, would never dare to look on a sword. The policy of the monarch perpetuated the separation of the natives from the invaders ; the former were consigned to the gentle arts of peace, while the latter were assiduously trained to war and exercised in arms.

The victory of Theodoric had spread a general alarm among the Barbarians of the West ; but it soon appeared that the victor was satisfied with conquest, and was desirous of peace. The different states readily submitted to his powerful mediation, and the ambassadors admired his wisdom, magnificence, and courtesy. His domestic alliances united his family with the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Thuringians ; even the savage monarch of the distant Heruli solicited the friendship of Theodoric, and, according to the rites of barbaric adoption, accepted the title of his son.

The life of Theodoric presents the rare example of a victorious Barbarian sheathing the sword in the pride of conquest and the vigour of his age ; the thirty-three years of his reign were consecrated to civil duties ; and the wars in which he was sometimes engaged were rather to defend
than

than to extend his territories. He reduced, under a strong and regular government, the countries of Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, from the source of the Danube and the territory of the Bavarians, to the petty kingdom erected by the Gepidæ on the ruins of Sirmium; his success awakened the jealousy of the emperor Anastasius; and the protection granted by the Gothic king to one of the descendants of Attila, was the pretence for a war kindled on the Dacian frontier. Sabinian, already distinguished by his own and his father's merit, advanced at the head of ten thousand Romans; but these were defeated in the fields of Margus by an inferior body of Goths and Huns; and the discipline of the Barbarians restrained them, though victors, from plundering the vanquished, till they had received by a signal the permission of their leader.

The Byzantine court, exasperated by this disgrace, dispatched two hundred ships, and eight thousand men, to ravage the sea-coast of Calabria and Apulia. After assaulting the ancient city of Tarentum, they sailed back to the Hellespont, proud of their piratical victory; their retreat was possibly hastened by a thousand light vessels, which Theodoric had fitted out with incredible diligence; and his efforts were productive of a solid and honourable peace during the rest of his reign. He long maintained with a powerful hand
the

the balance of the West; checked the ambition of Clovis; and after the defeat of Alaric, saved the remainder of the Visigoths, with the family of that unfortunate Prince, from destruction; the Alemanni were protected, the Burgundians chastised; and the Visigoths, to whom a free communication was opened by the conquests of Arles and Marseilles, revered him as their protector, and the guardian of his infant grandson, the offspring of their deceased monarch.

The union of the Goths and Romans might have fixed for ages the happiness of Italy; but the abilities of Theodoric seem better calculated for a conqueror than a legislator; while he indulged the Goths in the enjoyment of rude liberty, he servilely copied the political system framed by Constantine and his successors; though he declined the diadem and purple, he assumed the substance of the imperial prerogative, under the hereditary title of king. His language towards the Byzantine court was respectful but ambiguous; he described his own power as sole and undivided, and claimed the same pre-eminence over other kings, as he himself allowed to the rank of Anastasius; but although the Italian candidate for the consulship was named by Theodoric, yet he appears to have received the confirmation of the sovereign of Constantinople. The palace of Ravenna imitated the appearance
of

of the court of Theodosius and Valentinian; the prætorian præfect, the quæstor, the master of offices were still preserved, and continued to act as the ministers of the state. The subordinate care of justice and the revenue, was delegated to seven consulars, three correctors, and five presidents, who governed the fifteen *Regions* of Italy according to the rules of Roman jurisprudence; and the policy of Theodoric was exerted to disguise by the ancient forms of the empire the reign of a Barbarian. Though destitute of literature, he promoted as ministers Cassiodorius and Boethius, whose genius and learning have reflected lustre on his discernment; and the elevation of Liberius, to the prætorian præfecture, for his unshaken fidelity to Odoacer, proclaims the magnanimity of the Gothic king.

The sovereign of Italy condescended to flatter the nobles of Rome by sonorous epithets, and respectful professions; the inhabitants enjoyed, through his care, order, plenty, and a succession of public amusements. In the seventh year of his reign, Theodoric visited the old capital of the world, and assured the senate and people, in a discourse which he was not afraid to pronounce in public, and to inscribe on a tablet of brass, of a just and legal government. During a residence of six months, his courteous demeanour excited the admiration of the Romans, and the son of
Theodoric

Theodoric contemplated with curiosity and surprise the monuments that remained of their ancient greatness ; and he created an officer to protect those works of art, which he considered as the noblest ornaments of his kingdom.

Although Theodoric preferred the residence of Ravenna, yet as often as the peace of his kingdom was threatened by the Barbarians, he removed to Verona, on the northern frontier ; these two capitals, as well as Pavia, Spoleto, Naples, and the rest of the Italian cities, were decorated under his reign with churches, aqueducts, porticoes, and palaces ; but the happiness of the subject was more conspicuous in the industry which he diffused, and the plenty he introduced ; a gallon of wine was sometimes sold in Italy for less than three farthings, and a quarter of wheat at about five shillings and six-pence. The merchants from distant countries were encouraged and protected by the liberal spirit of Theodoric ; the free intercourse of the provinces was restored and extended ; and the common saying, that a purse of gold might be safely left in the fields, was expressive of the conscious security of the inhabitants.

Theodoric had been educated in the profession of Arianism, and Italy was devoutly attached to the Nicene creed ; but the moderation of the monarch averted those fatal effects which often arise

arise from a difference of religion between the prince and the people ; his long reign cannot afford the example of an Italian catholic, who either from choice or compulsion, had deviated into the religion of the conqueror ; while his favourite Goths, and even his mother, were permitted to retain or embrace the Athanasian faith. But Theodoric, when he assumed the supremacy of the church, was not ignorant of the importance of the Roman pontiff, to whom the venerable name of Pope, was now appropriated ; the peace or revolt of Italy might depend on a popular bishop who claimed dominion in earth and heaven ; and when Symmachus and Laurence disputed the chair of St. Peter, they appeared before the tribunal of an Arian monarch, who confirmed the election of the most worthy, or the most obsequious candidate.

But though we may with pleasure describe the fortunate condition of Italy during the reign of Theodoric, yet we must not imagine that the inhabitants were exempt from misery, or the monarch free from human frailty and passions : in the early hour of victory he deprived the whole party of Odoacer of the civil and even the natural rights of society ; his declining age was sullied with popular hatred and patrician blood ; and his ungrateful subjects never could be cordially reconciled

conciled to the origin, the religion, or even the virtues of the Gothic conqueror.

Two hundred thousand armed Barbarians, seated in the heart of Italy, indignantly supported the restraints of discipline, and frequently oppressed the provincials by the fallies of native fierceness. The religious toleration which Theodoric had introduced was offensive to the orthodox zeal of the Italians; they dreaded the armed heresy of the Goths, and pointed their rage against the rich and defenceless Jews; their effects were pillaged, and their synagogues burnt, by the mad populace of Ravenna and Rome. A legal enquiry was directed in consequence of these outrages; but as the authors of the tumult had escaped in the croud, the community was condemned to repair the damage; and the obstinate bigots who refused their contributions, were whipped through the streets. This simple act of justice exasperated the Catholics; and the mind of the Gothic conqueror was soured by indignation and jealousy, when he discovered that he had excited the hatred of a people, whose happiness he had laboured assiduously to promote. He condescended to disarm the unwarlike natives of Italy, and to interdict every instrument of offence, except a small knife for domestic use.

On the death of Anastasius, Justinian governed the empire of the east in the name of his uncle
Justin;

Justin; he already meditated the extirpation of heresy, and the conquest of Italy and Africa; a rigorous law was published at Constantinople against the Arians; and Theodoric claimed for his brethren of the East, the same indulgence he had so long allowed to the catholics of his dominions; the Roman Pontiff, with four illustrious senators, embarked to mitigate by their representations, the severity of Justin; and in case the Byzantine court proved obstinate, a mandate was prepared to prohibit the exercise of the catholic worship in Italy. The fame of Theodoric tottered on the brink of persecution, and his justice and humanity were already stained by the condemnation of Boethius and Symmachus.

The senator Boethius, as a wealthy orphan, had inherited the patrimony and honours of the Anician family. Eighteen years of his life were sedulously employed in the schools of Athens; and after his marriage with the daughter of his friend, the patrician Symmachus, he continued to prosecute his studies in his palace at Rome. His conspicuous merit was rewarded by a discerning prince; his dignity was adorned with the titles of consul and patrician; and his abilities were employed in the important station of master of the offices. But the favour of Boethius declined with the encreasing years of his master; the senator Albinus was accused and convicted

on the presumption of *hoping* the liberty of Rome. "If Albinus be criminal," exclaimed Boethius, "the senate and myself are all guilty of the same crime." But the rash declaration of the orator, that had he known of a conspiracy, the tyrant never should; proved fatal to his life; the advocate was soon involved in the guilt of his client. An address was produced, with their signatures, inviting the emperor to deliver Italy from the Goths. The unhappy patrician was deprived by Theodoric of the means of justification, and rigorously confined in the tower of Pavia. The Roman senate, at the command of their Barbarian master, pronounced a sentence of death against the most illustrious of its members; and the science of the philosopher was stigmatized with the names of sacrilege and magic. The ministers of death perhaps exceeded the inhuman mandate of Theodoric:—a strong cord was fastened round the head of Boethius, and forcibly tightened till his eyes almost started from their sockets; and he was released from that torture to be beaten till he expired under the clubs of his executioners. His venerable father-in-law, Symmachus, had presumed to lament the fate of his injured friend; he was dragged in chains from Rome to Ravenna, and the jealousy of the tyrant could only be effaced by his blood.

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The early and mature years of Theodoric were irradiated by glory and virtue; his last hours were clouded with guilt and remorse. His tortured fancy represented to his view the angry features of Symmachus, and he expressed his concern and repentance for the murder of that venerable senator, and his amiable son-in-law, Boethius. The agitation of his mind increased the disorder of his body; and after a dysentery, which continued three days, he expired in the palace of Ravenna, in the thirty-third year of his reign. Conscious of his approaching end, he divided his treasures and provinces between his two grandsons, and fixed the Rhone as their common boundary. To Amalaric he restored the throne of Spain; but Italy, with all the conquests of the Ostrogoths, was bequeathed to Athalaric, then only ten years of age, and the last male offspring of the line of Amali, by the marriage of his mother Amalasuntha, with a royal fugitive of the same blood. The dying monarch, who had summoned the Gothic chiefs and Italian magistrates to engage their faith to the young prince and his guardian mother, delivered to them as his last advice, to maintain the laws, to love the senate and people of Rome, and to cultivate with decent respect the friendship of the emperor. His monument, a chapel of a circular form, crowned with a dome of granite,

and containing in a porphyry vase, supported by four columns, the remains of the Gothic king, surrounded by the statues of the twelve apostles, was erected by his daughter Amalasuntha, in a conspicuous situation, which commanded the city of Ravenna, the harbour, and the adjacent coast.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ELEVATION OF JUSTIN THE ELDER—REIGN OF JUSTINIAN—I. THE EMPRESS THEODORA—II. FACTIONS OF THE CIRCUS, AND SEDITION OF CONSTANTINOPLE—TRADE AND MANUFACTURE OF SILK—IV. FINANCES AND TAXES—V. EDIFICES OF JUSTINIAN—CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA—FORTIFICATIONS AND FRONTIERS OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE—ABOLITION OF THE SCHOOLS OF ATHENS, AND THE CONSULSHIP OF ROME.

THE emperor Justinian was sprung from an obscure race of Barbarians, the inhabitants of a wild country, known by the various appellations of Dardania, of Dacia, and of Bulgaria; his elevation was facilitated by the enterprising spirit of his uncle Justin, who, with two other peasants of the same village, deserted the peaceable labours of the husbandman, for the dangerous profession of arms. Their strength and stature

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introduced them among the guards of the emperor Leo ; and the more fortunate Justin, by long service in the Persian and Haurian wars, in the course of fifty years, obtained the rank of tribune, of count, and of general, with the dignity of senator, and the command of the guards, at the important crisis when Anastasius expired. The kinsmen of that prince were excluded from the throne by the arts of the eunuch Amantius, who resolved to bestow the purple on the most obsequious of his creatures ; a liberal donative to conciliate the guards was entrusted in the hands of Justin, who treacherously employed it in his own favour, and the Dacian

A. D. 518. peasant, as no competitor presumed to appear, ascended the throne with the unanimous consent of the soldiers, the clergy, and the people.

Justin, to whom is added the epithet of Elder, to distinguish him from another emperor of the same name and family, was sixty-eight years of age when he attained the imperial diadem, and during the nine successive years of his life, he was preserved from exposing his incapacity by the abilities of his ministers. His ignorance equalled that of Theodoric, and the world beheld two contemporary monarchs destitute even of the knowledge of the alphabet ; but the Dacian peasant possessed not the commanding genius of the Gothic

thick soldier. Justin, though personally brave, was conscious of his own weakness, and distrustful of his political capacity; the official business of the empire was diligently transacted by his quaestor Proclus; and the talents of Justinian, his nephew, whom the aged emperor drew from the solitude of Dacia, and educated, as his heir at Constantinople, soon supplied the deficiencies of the sovereign.

The eunuch Amantius had been defrauded of his money, but his resentment was prevented by the policy of the emperor. His life became the forfeit of a real or pretended conspiracy; three of his companions, the first domestics of the palace, were punished either with death or exile; and their unfortunate candidate for the purple was overwhelmed with stones, and ignominiously cast into the sea. The ruin of Vitalian was a work of more difficulty. In the defence of the orthodox faith, he had waged a popular war against Anastasius, and remained at the head of a formidable army, after concluding an advantageous treaty, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. On the security of oaths, he was persuaded to trust himself in a city, to the inhabitants of which his late hostilities had rendered him obnoxious. The emperor and his nephew embraced him with affected regard, but in the seventh month of his consulship, he was assassi-

nated at a royal banquet, with seventeen wounds; and Justinian, as the price of his perfidy, was promoted to the situation of his rival, and assumed the rank of master-general of the Eastern armies, without the claim of any military service. Instead of endeavouring to acquire an honourable fame by Scythian or Persian trophies, he preferred the more prudent measure of cultivating the favour of his countrymen in the churches, the circus, and the senate of Constantinople; and while he maintained his ascendant over the mind of his uncle, committed to hardier warriors the glory and defence of the Eastern empire.

After a schism of thirty-four years, the counsels of Justinian reconciled the angry spirit of the Roman pontiff; the thrones of the East were filled with catholic bishops devoted to his interest; and the clergy and monks were gained by his liberality; the people of Constantinople were gratified by the superior magnificence of his public spectacles; and the members of the senate were flattered by the assiduity with which he courted their friendship. That assembly expressed their unanimous wish to the emperor, that he would be pleased to adopt Justinian as his colleague; and though the jealousy of Justin at first induced him to resist their importunities, yet the languor of his mind and body, the effect of an incurable wound in his thigh, compelled him to
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accept the aid of a guardian, and his nephew was solemnly invested with the purple in the presence of the patriarch and the senators. A. D. 527.

Though Justin survived this ceremony about four months, yet the imperial power was entirely vested in the hands of Justinian, who from his elevation to his death, governed the Roman empire thirty-eight years, seven months, and thirteen days; and the various events of his reign are diligently related by Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, whose eloquence promoted him to the rank of senator, and præfect of Constantinople. From the various materials of this historian, we shall begin with the character and elevation of Theodora, the factions of the circus, and the peaceful administration of the emperor of the East. To these will be added the victories of Belisarius and Narses; and the reign of Justinian will be closed with a review of his theology and jurisprudence, the controversies which divided the Oriental church, and the reformation of the Roman law.

I. The first act of Justinian was to divide the power he had attained with the woman whom he loved. Comito, THEODORA, and Anastasia, were the daughters of Acacius, a native of Cyprus, and the master of the bears belonging to the green faction. After the death of the father, on a solemn

lemn festival, these helpless orphans, the eldest of whom did not exceed the age of seven years, were introduced by the mother into the theatre; the green faction received them with contempt; the blues with compassion; and this difference, which sunk deep in the mind of Theodora, was felt long afterwards in the administration of the emperor. The three sisters were successively devoted to the public and private pleasures of the Byzantine people; and the applause bestowed on Theodora, as a pantomime, was constant and unbounded; but her beauty was the source of more exquisite delight; her features were delicate and regular; her eyes expressed the sensations of her mind and body; and her easy motions displayed the graces of a small but elegant figure; but this form was degraded by the facility with which it was exposed to the public eye; and her venal charms were abandoned to a promiscuous crowd of citizens and strangers. The vague commerce of Theodora, and her detestable precautions, preserved her from the danger she dreaded; and during that period she once, and once only, became a mother. The youth was educated in Arabia, and, by his father on his death bed, informed that he was the son of an empress. He hastened to Constantinople, was admitted to the presence of his mother, and as he never more was beheld, has subjected Theodora to a suspicion that she
extin.

extinguished with his life, a secret offensive to imperial pride.

The beauty of Theodora, who for some time had affected a life of solitude, attracted and captivated the patrician Justinian, who already reigned in the name of his uncle; her temper and understanding maintained a constant ascendant over his mind; an ancient law, which prohibited the marriage of any senator with a female who had been dishonoured by a servile origin, or theatrical profession, was abolished in the name of Justin; the nuptials of Justinian and Theodora were speedily solemnized; and Justinian, when he ascended the throne, placed by his side, his consort as an equal and independent sovereign. The most illustrious persons of the state were doomed, as her humour might suggest, to experience the levity of a comedian, or the arrogance of an empress; her rapacity was unbounded; and her cruelty was exercised by her numerous spies, who carefully reported every action or look injurious to their royal mistress.

Yet it must be acknowledged that the daughter of Acacius was not destitute of virtues. Her influence often assuaged the intolerant zeal of the Emperor; her prudence is celebrated by Justinian himself; her courage was displayed amidst the tumult of the people and the terrors of the court; and her chastity, from the moment of
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her union with Justinian, is allowed to have been inviolable. An infant, whom she buried, was the sole offspring of her marriage; A. D. 548. and the empress herself, in the twenty-second year of her reign, was consumed by the destructive rage of a cancer.

II. The games of the Roman circus differed materially from those celebrated by the ancient Greeks; the charioteers were servile characters, and their profession was considered as disgraceful. The liveries worn by the different competitors, or *factions*, were *white, red, green, and blue*; and the blind ardour of the Roman people devoted their lives and fortunes to the colours they espoused. The follies of Rome were adopted by Constantinople; the support of a *faction* became necessary to every candidate for civil or ecclesiastical honours. The green were attached to the family, or sect, of Anastasius; the blues were devoted to orthodoxy and Justinian; and their grateful patron protected, above five years, a party whose tumults overawed the palace, the senate, and the capital of the East; and Theodora, who never forgave the injuries offered to her as a comedian, countenanced the *blues* in their persecution of the *greens*.

A dangerous sedition, which almost laid Constantinople in ashes, was excited by the momentary

tary reconciliation of the two factions. A. D. 532.
Two criminals had escaped from impending punishment to the sanctuary of a neighbouring church. As one of these was of the blue, and the other of the green livery, both parties were equally provoked by the cruelty of their oppressor. A seditious torrent overwhelmed the palace of the præfect, his officers, and his guards; the fury of an armed multitude was increased by the Barbarians in the service of the empire; firebrands were darted against the houses, and the flames spread, without control, over the face of the city. For five days Constantinople was abandoned to the factions, whose watch-word, ΝΙΚΑ, *vanquish*, has given a name to this memorable sedition.

A suspicion was entertained, that the rage of the insurgents was supplied with arms by the patricians Hypatius and Pompey, two nephews of the deceased emperor Anastasius; they were commanded by Justinian, who regarded them as spies, to depart the palace; and Hypatius, surrounded by the populace, was reluctantly transported to the forum of Constantine, and a rich collar was placed on his head. Had the usurper instantly urged the fury of the multitude, he might have expelled his trembling competitor; a secret resolution was already taken to convey the emperor, with his family, to a safe retreat;
but

but this disgraceful measure was averted by the magnanimity and manly language of the prostitute, whom Justinian had raised from the theatre to the throne. "If flight," said Theodora, "were the only means of safety, yet I should disdain to fly. Death is the condition of our birth; but they who have reigned, should never survive the loss of dignity and dominion. I implore heaven, that I may never be seen, not a day, without my diadem and purple; that I may no longer behold the light, when I cease to be saluted with the name of queen. If you resolve, O Cæsar, to fly, you have treasures; behold the sea, you have ships; but tremble, lest the desire of life should expose you to wretched exile and ignominious death. For my own part, I adhere to the maxim of antiquity, that the throne is a glorious sepulchre." The firmness of a woman restored courage to deliberate and act; the animosity of the factions was revived; the blues again proclaimed the majesty of Justinian; the greens, with their upstart emperor, were attacked in the Hippodrome, by Belisarius and Mundus, at the head of three thousand veterans; and it is computed that above thirty thousand persons perished in the promiscuous carnage. Hypatius and Pompey were dragged to the feet of the emperor, and in vain implored his clemency; and the

the games were, during several years, interdicted ; but with the restoration of them, the blue and green factions revived, and continued to disturb the tranquillity of Justinian, and of the empire.

III. The silk worms, who feed on the leaves of the white mulberry trees, till the reign of Justinian, were confined to China ; and as silk became of general use, that emperor beheld with concern that the Persians had occupied, by land and sea, the monopoly of this important supply. The gospel had been preached to the Indians, and the missionaries pursued the footsteps of commerce to the extremities of Asia. Two Persian monks had long resided in China ; and they viewed, with curious eye, the manufactures of silk, and the myriads of silk-worms which were carefully propagated. They soon discovered that in the eggs of the insect a numerous progeny might be preserved and multiplied. Religion, or interest, induced them to undertake a journey to Constantinople ; they imparted their project to the emperor, and were liberally encouraged by gifts and promises. The labours of these missionaries, who again entered China, deceived a jealous people by concealing the eggs in a hollow cane ; and they returned in triumph with the spoils of the East. Under their direction, the eggs were hatched by the artificial heat of dung ; the worms were fed with mulberry leaves ; and the

Sogdoite

Sogdoite ambassadors acknowledged, in the succeeding reign, that the Romans were not inferior to the natives of China in the education of the infants and the manufactures of silk.

IV. The œconomy of Anastasius had alleviated the public distress; but the revenues of Justinian were exhausted by alms, by buildings, by wars, and by treaties. The salaries of his civil and military officers were reduced; the municipal revenues were usurped; his veterans were suffered to beg their bread; and unpaid armies melted away in the wars of Italy and Persia. The arrears of the public tributes were severely extorted; and the *anona*, or supply of corn for the army and capital, oppressed the farmers throughout the provinces; even Constantinople was not exempt from the impartial rapaciousness of Justinian; at every gate of the city a prætor was stationed, and heavy customs were imposed on the vessels and their merchandize. To these may be added the *aerial* tribute, which was an annual gift to the emperor from the prætorian præfect; and the means of compensation were left to the discretion of that powerful officer. The privilege of monopolies was still more intolerable than the weight of taxes; and the open sale of honours and offices exposed the people to the oppression of every bold adventurer.

In this review of public extortion, much guilt
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is undoubtedly to be imputed to Justinian; but more to his ministers. Of these, John of Cappadocia was the principal; a man capable of suggesting the wisest counsels, and of finding expedients in the most desperate situations. Yet the corruption of his heart was equal to the vigour of his mind; insensible to the fear of God and man, his fortune was raised on the death of thousands, the poverty of millions, the ruin of cities, and the desolation of provinces. His abilities recommended him to the lasting friendship of Justinian; but in the insolence of his power he imprudently provoked the resentment of Theodora; even the empress was forced to wait a favourable moment, and to render John of Cappadocia the accomplice of his own destruction. The præfect was invited to a feigned conspiracy by Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, who enjoyed the secret confidence of the empress. Their conference was interrupted by an ambuscade of guards posted by the command of Theodora. The minister escaped to the sanctuary of a church; and to save his life was obliged to renounce his situation of præfect, for the humble character of a priest. The friendship of the emperor allowed him to retain an ample portion of his wealth: but the hatred of Theodora was not yet satisfied. John of Cappadocia, though innocent, was condemned, for the murder of the Bishop of Cyzicus, to

be ignominiously scourged ; a tattered cloak was alone left him of his former fortunes ; and the præfect of the East, for seven years, begged his bread through cities which had trembled at his name. On the death of the empress, Justinian recalled a servant whom he had abandoned with regret : and the ambition of the minister was confined to the humble duties of the sacerdotal profession.

V. The *edifices* of Justinian, though cemented with the blood of his people, proclaim the skill of his architects. The church of St. Sophia had been destroyed by fire during the sedition of the blue and green factions ; and the glory of erecting a new temple was strenuously undertaken by Justinian. Anthemius, the son of a citizen of Tralles, whose merit is loudly praised by Procopius, formed the design ; and his genius directed the constant efforts of ten thousand workmen. The emperor each day surveyed their progress, and encouraged their diligence by rewards. The new cathedral of St. Sophia was consecrated by the patriarch, five years eleven months and ten days from the first foundation ; but before twenty years had elapsed, the eastern part of the dome was overthrown by an earthquake. Its splendour was restored by the same prince ; and St. Sophia, converted into a Turkish mosque, still remains to excite

excite the admiration of the Greeks, and the curiosity of European travellers.

The fortifications of Europe and Asia were restored and multiplied by the care of Justinian. From Belgrade to the Euxine; from the conflux of the Save to the mouth of the Danube, a chain of above fourscore fortified places was extended along the banks of the great river. A strong fortress defended the ruins of Trajan's Bridge, and several military stations affected to spread beyond the Danube the pride of the Roman name: but the Barbarians contemptuously passed before these bulwarks; and the military works, which exhausted the public treasure, could not remove the just apprehensions of Justinian and his subjects. By the submission of the Isaurians, the empire was indeed delivered from an internal enemy, who, for two hundred and thirty years, had deeply wounded its dignity and peace; but the most elaborate works were required to fortify the eastern frontier against the arms and ambition of the Persian monarch; who shook the strongest battlements with his military engines, and advanced to the assault with a line of moveable turrets on the backs of elephants. The towns of Armenia and Mesopotamia were diligently strengthened; and the eye of Justinian investigated every spot which possessed an advantageous command of ground or water.

Perozes, the king of Persia, had undertaken an expedition against the White Huns, whose conquests had been stretched from the Caspian to the heart of India. The Persians
A. D. 488. were twice defeated by the military stratagems of the Huns; and Perozes, who had been captured, was not dismissed till he had submitted to adore the majesty of a Barbarian. The Persian king, forgetful of his danger and his gratitude, renewed the attack with headstrong fury; and lost both his army and his life. Twelve years of confusion elapsed, before his son,

A. D. 402. Cabades, could embrace any designs of ambition or revenge. He then, supported by the Huns and Arabs, invaded the provinces of the empire. Martyropolis submitted; Theodosiopolis was destroyed; and Amida, after sustaining a siege of three months, was surprised when the garrison, after the duties of a festival, were oppressed by sleep and wine; four-score thousand of the inhabitants were massacred, before the sword was sheathed by the sanguinary victors. During the three years war, the unhappy frontier was exposed to incessant calamities; and when the mind of Cabades inclined to peace, he sold his conquests at an immense price.

To resist the future progress of the Persian arms, and to avert a repetition of the same evils, Anastasius peopled and adorned the town of Dara,
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about fourteen miles from Nisibis. His hasty works were improved by the perseverance of Justinian; and the fortifications of Dara, erected on a hard rocky soil which resisted the tools of the miners, for more than sixty years continued to fulfil the wishes of the Romans, and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians.

The countries of Colchos, Iberia, and Albania, are intersected by the branches of Mount Caucasus; and the two principal gates, or passes, have been frequently confounded in the geography both of the ancients and moderns. The name of *Caspian* gates, is properly applied to Derbend, which occupies a short declivity between the mountains and the sea; the *Iberian* gates are formed by a narrow passage of Mount Caucasus, which opens from the northern side of Iberia into the plain that reaches to the Tanais and Volga. This important pass was forcibly occupied by Cabades, while a fortress that commanded it was treated for, with a prince of the Huns, by the irresolute Anastasius. The Caspian and Iberian gates exclude the horsemen of Scythia from the shortest and most practicable roads; the whole front of the mountains is covered with a long wall, which had been called the rampart of Gog and Magog: and the Persian monarch stipulated, in every treaty, that Justinian should contribute to the expence of a barrier, which equally pro-

ted the two empires from the inroads of the Scythians.

The avarice and jealousy of Justinian have both been accused in the suppression of the schools of Athens, and the consulship of Rome. The advantages of education, which had been early possessed by the youth of Attica, were communicated without envy to the rival cities of Greece. The Latin conquerors respectfully listened to the instructions of their subjects and captives; the names of Cicero and Horace were enrolled in the schools of Athens; and after the perfect settlement of the Roman empire, the natives of Italy, of Africa, and of Britain, conversed in the groves of the academy with their fellow students of the East. The studies of eloquence and philosophy are congenial to a popular state; and even when the liberty of public debate was suppressed, the orator, in the honourable profession of an advocate, might plead the cause of innocence and justice. The systems which professed to unfold the nature of God, of man, and of the universe, entertained the curiosity of the philosophic student; and, according to the temper of his mind, he might doubt with the sceptics, or decide with the stoics; sublimely speculate with Plato, or severely argue with Aristotle. The Athenian professors were paid by their disciples, according to their mutual wants and abilities; but some property

perty of houses and lands was settled by the permission of the laws, and the legacies of deceased friends, on the philosophic chairs of Athens. The generous spirit of the Antonines first assigned public salaries; and each professor of politics, of rhetoric, of the platonick, the peripatetic, the stoic, and the Epicurean philosophy, received an annual stipend of more than three hundred pounds sterling. These liberal donations, after the death of Marcus, were frequently abolished and revived; and even some vestige of royal bounty may be discovered under the successors of Constantine.

But the establishment of a new religion was more fatal to the schools of Athens, than the arms of the Goths. The degenerate sect of the platonists, mingled with a sublime theory the practice of superstition and magic; and the edict of Justinian imposed a perpetual silence on the few remaining votaries of Grecian science and religion. Seven of these embraced a resolution of seeking, in a foreign land, the freedom which was denied in their native country: but when they resorted to the court of Chosroes, they were astonished to find that the monarch, who affected the name of a philosopher, was vain, cruel, and ambitious; that bigotry, and a spirit of intolerance, prevailed among the magi; that the nobles were haughty, the courtiers servile, and the magistrates unjust. They returned with precipitation;

and declared that they had rather die on the borders of the empire, than enjoy the wealth and favour of the Barbarians : but from this journey they derived a benefit which reflects the purest lustre on the character of Chosroes. He stipulated, in a treaty, that the seven sages who had visited the court of Persia, should be exempted from the penal laws which Justinian had enacted against his pagan subjects.

The revolutions of the consular office have been already occasionally mentioned in the present history ; and long after the power was transferred to the emperors, the dignity of the consulship was revered by the Romans and Barbarians : but the wisest senators declined, at length, an useless honour, the expence of which insensibly had arisen to fourscore thousand pounds, and which involved their families in certain ruin. The predecessors of Justinian had assisted from the public treasures the less opulent candidates ; the avarice of that prince preferred the convenient method of regulation. He limited the races, the sports, and the hunting of wild beasts ; in the thirteenth year of his reign the succession of consuls finally ceased ; and that celebrated title served only to remind the Romans of their ancient freedom ; yet the people fondly expected its speedy restoration ; three centuries elapsed, before it could be abolished by law ; the imperfect

perfect mode of distinguishing each year by the name of a magistrate, was supplied by the date of a permanent æra. The Greeks compute, according to the septuagint version, from the date of the world; and the Latins, since the age of Charlemagne, from the birth of Christ,

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONQUESTS OF JUSTINIAN IN THE WEST—CHARACTER
AND FIRST CAMPAIGNS OF BELISARIUS—HE IN-
VADES AND SUBDUES THE VANDAL KINGDOM
OF AFRICA—HIS TRIUMPH—THE GOTHIC
WAR—HE RECOVERS SICILY, NAPLES, AND
ROME—SIEGE OF ROME BY THE GOTHs—
THEIR RETREAT AND LOSSES—SURREN-
DER OF RAVENNA—GLORY OF BELI-
SARIUS—HIS DOMESTIC SHAME
AND MISFORTUNES.

WHEN Justinian ascended the throne, the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals had obtained a peaceable establishment in Europe and Africa; but the Roman lawyers and statesmen still asserted the indefeasible dominion of the emperor. After the imperial purple was resigned by the West, the princes of Constantinople assumed the sole and sacred sceptre of the monarchy; and aspired to deliver their subjects from the usurpation of Barbarians and Heretics. The internal state of Africa afforded an honourable motive,

motive, and promised a powerful support to the Roman arms.

According to the testament of Genferic, the African kingdoms had lineally descended to Hilderic, the eldest of the Vandal princes. His accession was marked by an edict, which allowed the free profession of the Athanasian creed; but this indulgence, without satisfying the catholic, disgusted the Arian clergy; who insinuated that he had renounced the faith, while his soldiers exclaimed that he had degenerated from the courage of his ancestors. His ambassadors were suspected of a disgraceful negociation with the Byzantine court; and his troops had been vanquished by the naked and disorderly Moors. The public discontent was inflamed by Gelimir, who assumed the reins of government; and his unfortunate sovereign sunk, without a struggle, from the throne to a dungeon; but the conduct of Hilderic had strongly recommended him to Justinian, who, in two successive embassies, admonished the usurper to reverence the laws of kindred and succession, and to suffer an infirm old man to end his days, either on the throne of Carthage, or in the palace of Constantinople. The prudence of Gelimer compelled him to reject these requests; his passions urged him to deprive the captive monarch of his eyes; and the cruel Vandal, confident in his strength, derided the

the preparations of Justinian ; who, amidst his protestations of peace, was determined to avenge the injuries of Hilderic, by war.

But the ardour of the monarch was encountered by the dictates of prudence and the arguments of his ministers. John of Cappadocia ventured in full council to oppose the inclinations of his master. “ You undertake,” said the præfect, “ to besiege Carthage ; by land, the distance is not less than one hundred and forty days journey ; on the sea, a whole year must elapse before you can receive any intelligence from your fleet. If Africa can be reduced, it cannot be preserved without the additional conquest of Sicily and Italy. Success will impose the obligation of new labours ; a single misfortune will attract the Barbarians into the heart of your exhausted empire.” Justinian felt the salutary advice ; and the design of the war would probably have been relinquished, if a fanatic bishop had not declared, that God in a vision had commanded the deliverance of the African church. This seasonable revelation was strengthened by the more reasonable hopes of a revolt, from the inclination of the catholics, and from the adherents of Hilderic. Pudentius, an African subject, had already signified his loyal intentions, and a small aid secured the obedience of Tripoli. Gudas, a valiant Barbarian, entrusted

trusted with the government of Sardinia, had disclaimed the authority of the Vandal monarch, and assumed the sovereignty of that fruitful island; discord and desertion threatened on every side the throne of Gelimir; while the hopes of the Romans were excited by the appointment of Belisarius to the command of their armies.

This hero, who revived the fainting glory of Rome, was born among the Thracian peasants, and served among the private guards of Justinian. When his patron became emperor, the domestic was promoted to military command; and after a bold inroad into Persarmenia, was entrusted with the important station of Dara. The Mirranes of Persia had advanced with forty thousand of his best troops to raze the fortifications of that bulwark. In the level plain of Dara, he was encountered by Belisarius, at the head of twenty-five thousand Romans. The skill of the imperial general decided the fate of the day, and eight thousand of the vanquished Persians were left on the field of battle.

In the next campaign, Syria was invaded from the Desert, and Belisarius, with twenty thousand men, hastened to the protection of the province; his skilful dispositions baffled the designs of the enemy, and would have procured him a bloodless victory, could he have resisted the impatience of his own troops; the promises of these were faintly

faintly supported in the hour of danger, and they hastily abandoned a conflict which they had loudly demanded. But the fame of Belisarius rose superior to his defeat, and his abilities preserved his troops from the consequences of their own rashness. The approach of peace relieved him from the defence of the Eastern frontier; his conduct in the sedition of Constantinople deserved the esteem of the emperor; but his appointment to the command of the African expedition, was possibly promoted by the intrigues of his wife Antonina, who alternately enjoyed the confidence, and incurred the hatred, of the empress Theodora. Antonina was descended from a race of charioteers, and her chastity has been stained with the foulest reproach. But she long reigned over the mind of her husband, whom she accompanied with manly resolution in all the hardships and dangers of a military life.

The forces for the African expedition consisted of the guards of Belisarius; four hundred of the bravest Heruli, commanded by Pharas; six hundred Massagetæ, or Huns, that were allured by deceit to engage in a naval enterprize; five thousand horse, and ten thousand foot; but the infantry yielded to the reputation of the cavalry; and the Scythian bow was the weapon on which the armies of Rome were reduced to place their principal dependance. Five hundred transports,

ports, navigated by twenty thousand mariners of Egypt, Cilicia, and Ionia, were escorted by ninety-two light brigantines, rowed by two thousand of the brave and robust youth of Constantinople : twenty-two generals were named ; but the chief command, both by sea and land, was delegated to Belisarius alone.

A. D. 533. The fleet, as they struggled to pass the streights of the Hellespont, were detained, by an unfavourable wind, four days at Abydus, where the general exhibited a memorable lesson of firmness and severity. Two of the Huns, who in a drunken quarrel had slain one of their fellow soldiers, were instantly shewn to the army suspended from a gibbet. Their countrymen resented the punishment of a crime which by the laws of Scythia would only have been attended by a small fine ; the contagion of disorder was caught by the Romans ; but the rising sedition was appeased by the authority and eloquence of Belisarius, who represented the guilt of murder, and the importance of discipline. After a successful navigation, the troops were disembarked at Methone, on the Messenian coast, to refresh themselves from the fatigues of the sea ; but the avarice of the præfect, John of Cappadocia, had slightly baked the bread intended for the support of the army ; the unwholesome food produced an epidemical disease, which swept away
five

five hundred soldiers ; their health was restored by the care of Belisarius ; from the port of Methone, after a tedious navigation, they reached the harbour of Caucana, on the southern side of Sicily ; that island was governed by Gothic officers, in the name of the daughter and grandson of Theodoric, and, according to the mandate of the court of Ravenna, the troops of Justinian were received like friends and allies. The information gained by Belisarius, of the state and designs of the Vandals, determined him to hasten his operations ; his impatience was seconded by the winds ; and the fleet finally cast anchor at Caput Vada, about five days journey to the south of Carthage.

Gelimer, ignorant of the approach of the enemy, had detached five thousand of his soldiers, and one hundred and twenty galleys, to the conquest of Sardinia. These might have enabled him to have attacked and oppressed a fleet of deep-laden transports, escorted only by ninety-two light brigantines ; and Belisarius, conscious of the danger, and the apprehensions of his troops, seized the first opportunity of landing them on the coast of Africa. Five soldiers were left as a guard on board each of the ships ; and the remainder occupied a camp fortified, according to ancient custom, with a ditch and rampart. Rigid discipline was enforced by the exhortations

hortations of the commander; and the inhabitants were induced, by the liberality of the Romans, to supply them with a regular market. Sulleste first opened her gates; the larger cities of Leptis and Adrumetum followed her example; and Belisarius advanced without opposition as far as Grasse, a palace of the Vandal kings, at the distance of fifty miles from Carthage.

The near approach of the Romans to Carthage, filled the mind of Gelimer with anxiety and terror. He wished to protract the war till the return of his brother Zano from Africa, and lamented the rash policy of his predecessors, who had destroyed the fortifications of Africa. He collected, however, a considerable army; and his brother Ammatas was directed with the troops of Carthage, to encounter the Roman vanguard about ten miles from the city, while his nephew Gibamund attacked the left, and Gelimer himself charged the rear. This plan was disconcerted by the rashness of Ammatas, who, anticipating the hour of attack, was slain, and his followers pursued to Carthage; Gibamund was defeated by the Massagetæ; and Gelimer himself, ignorant of the event, and misguided by the windings of the hills, passed the Roman army, and reached the scene of action where Ammatas had fell. He deplored the fate of his brother, and of Carthage; and charging the Roman squadrons with irresistible

ble fury, might have decided the victory, had he not, by discharging a pious duty to the dead, allowed Belisarius time to press forward with his guards, and restore the fortune of the day. After a tumultuous conflict, the Vandal monarch fled before the Roman hero, and directed his steps towards the desert of Numidia. His private orders for the execution of Hilderic and his captive friends, were faithfully obeyed. But the revenge of the tyrant was useful to his enemies; and by removing a lawful prince, probably saved the general of Justinian from a crime which would have sullied his conquests.

Carthage, with joyful acclamations, hailed and invited her Roman deliverers; the imperial fleet had occupied, ignorant of the revolution, a secure station in the lake of Tunis; Belisarius, after one day devoted to pomp and festivity, employed the mariners, the citizens, and the soldiers, in restoring the walls and ditches of the capital of Africa; and Gelimer beheld with astonishment and despair the strength of the rising fortifications. This unfortunate monarch, after collecting the remains of a scattered army, was encamped in the fields of Bulla, about four days journey from Carthage, when he received the letters of his brother Zano, with intelligence of the conquest of Sardinia. His answer was expressive of his situation. "Alas, my brother," replied Gelimer, "Heaven has declared against our
unhappy

“ unhappy nation ! our horses, our ships, Car-
“ thage itself, and all Africa, are in the power
“ of the enemy ; nothing now remains, except
“ the field of Bulla, and the hope of your valour.
“ Abandon Sardinia : fly to our relief ; restore
“ our empire, or perish by our side.” On the
receipt of this epistle, which was prudently con-
cealed from the natives of the island, Zano haf-
tily embarked the troops, cast anchor the third
day on the confines of Mauritania, and joined
the royal standard in the camp of Bulla.

The interview between the two brothers was
mournful ; but the languid spirit of the Vandals
was at length awakened by the intreaties of their
king, and by the example of Zano. Before the
army reached Tricameron, about twenty miles
from Carthage, their numbers surpassed, in a
ten-fold proportion, the powers of the Romans.
But Belisarius, conscious of the superior merit of
his troops, permitted the Barbarians to surprise
him at an unseasonable hour. The Romans were
instantly under arms. Till Zano fell, the con-
flict was obstinately maintained ; but his death
was followed by the retreat of Gelimer ; and on-
ly fifty Romans, and eight hundred Vandals pe-
rished in a battle which decided the fate of Africa.
The conqueror led his troops to storm the hostile
camp ; but Gelimer pusillanimously fled ; and the
Vandals, after their king had deserted them, haf-

tilly dispersed, anxious solely for their personal safety. The Romans entered the camp without resistance; and Belisarius, on the field of victory, passed an apprehensive night, sensible of the danger to which he was exposed by the disorder and intemperance of his troops. As soon as he had restored order to his camp, he dispatched a light detachment to pursue Gelimer, and advanced with his army as far as Hippo Regius. The season, and the intelligence that the Vandal had fled to the country of the Moors, determined Belisarius to return to Carthage; and from thence he informed the Emperor that he had achieved the conquest of Africa in three months.

Sardinia and Corsica, with the isles of Majorca, Minorca, and Yvica, had indeed submitted; five dukes, or commanders, were established in Tripoli, Leptis, Cirta, Cæsarea, and Sardinia; but the conquest of Africa could scarcely be considered as complete till her former sovereign, either dead or alive, was delivered into the hands of the Romans. By the indefatigable pursuit of his enemies, Gelimer had been chased, with some faithful followers, to the inaccessible mountain of Papua, in the inland country of Numidia. He was immediately besieged by Pharas, an officer who, though of the perfidious race of the Heruli, was celebrated for his truth and fidelity. Pharas, after being repulsed in an attempt to
scale

scale the mountain, awaited during a winter siege the operation of distress and famine. The Vandal monarch, from the unbounded command of industry and wealth, was reduced to share the poverty of the Moors, who promiscuously slept, together with their cattle, in rude hovels of mud and hurdles, which confined the smoke and excluded the light. Their garments were sordid and scanty; the use of bread and wine was unknown; and their oaken cakes, imperfectly baked in the ashes, were eagerly devoured by the hungry savages. The knowledge of the situation of the Vandal dictated a friendly epistle from Pharas, in which he advised the unfortunate Gelimer no longer to reject the gracious clemency of Justinian, and the sacred assurances of Belisarius.—“ I am not insensible,” replied the king of the Vandals, “ how kind and rational is your advice; but I cannot persuade myself to become the slave of an unjust enemy, who has deserved my implacable hatred. Him I had never injured either by word or deed; yet he has sent against me, I know not from whence, a certain Belisarius, who has cast me headlong from the throne into this abyss of misery. Justinian is a man; he is a prince; does he not dread for himself a similar reverse of fortune? I can write no more; my grief oppresses me; send me, I beseech you, my dear Pharas, send me

“ a lyre, a sponge, and a loaf of bread.” Pharas was informed from the messenger of the motives for this extraordinary request. It was long since the king of Africa had tasted bread; a defluxion had fallen on his eyes, the effects of incessant weeping; and he wished to solace the melancholy hours by fingering to the lyre the sad story of his misfortunes. Pharas sent the gifts; but he redoubled the vigilance of his guard. Gelimer at length yielded on the solemn assurances of safety and honourable treatment; and in the first interview with Belisarius, the royal captive burst into a fit of laughter. The crowd might naturally believe Gelimer deprived of his senses; but his unseasonable mirth insinuated to the intelligent observer, that the scenes of human greatness are unworthy of a serious thought.

The merit of Belisarius soon excited the jealousy of the emperor. The alternative was left him to remain in the province, or return; but the general was sensible, from his sovereign's temper, that he must either resign his head, erect his standard, or confound his enemies by his presence and submission; his guards, his captives, and his treasures, were diligently embarked; and his arrival at Constantinople preceded any account of his departure from Carthage. His prompt obedience removed the apprehensions of Justinian, and extorted the honour of a triumph; but

but from the wealth of nations, and the trophies of luxury, which adorned the procession of the victor, the eyes of the spectators were turned on Gelimer, who marched slowly along repeating the words of Solomon—VANITY! VANITY! ALL IS VANITY!

The services of Belisarius were immediately rewarded with the consulship; and the misfortunes of Gelimer were alleviated by an ample estate in the province of Galatia, where the abdicated monarch retired with his family and his friends to a life of peace, of affluence, and perhaps of content. The bravest of the Vandal youth were distributed into five squadrons of cavalry, and the posterity of the common race insensibly mingled with the herd of African subjects.

Belisarius had scarce hoisted sail for Constantinople before the invasion of the Moors spread terror and desolation through the provinces of Africa; these savages were repelled by Solomon, an eunuch, to whom the imperial general, when he embarked, entrusted the chief command. The beardless victor advanced thirteen days journey from Carthage to besiege mount Aurafius; and though he was compelled to retreat with some disgrace from his first attempt, in the second the ardour of his troops scaled the hostile mountain; a citadel

erected on the top secured the important conquest; and by the arms of Solomon, the province of Mauritanian Sitifi was again annexed to the Roman empire.

Theudes, who had ascended the throne of Spain after the extinction of the royal line in the death of Amalaric, beheld with indifference the A. D. 550. rapid downfall of the Vandals. On the 620. death of Theudes, the sceptre of Spain was disputed by a civil war. The weaker candidate claimed the protection of Justinian, and subscribed a treaty of alliance which wounded the independence of his country. Several cities on the ocean and Mediterranean were ceded to the Roman troops; and during seventy years that the emperors retained any share of these remote possessions, their vanity continued to number Spain in the list of their provinces.

A combination of domestic and public injuries had alienated the minds of the Ostrogoths from their natural allies, the Vandals; and the conquerors of Italy beheld with pleasure the subversion of the Vandal kingdom of Africa. But they were soon convinced of the impolicy of their conduct, by the lofty language of Belisarius, who menaced, in the name of the emperor, the recovery of the provinces withheld from the imperial authority. A nation of two hundred thousand soldiers might have derided the haughty language of
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of Justinian and his lieutenant; but a spirit of discord prevailed in Italy, and the Goths supported with reluctance the indignity of a female reign. Amalasontha had been left guardian, by her father Theodoric, of her son Athalaric, and the kingdom of Italy. The beauty of Amalasontha was acknowledged, and even dreaded by Theodora; and her manly understanding was laudably employed in regulating the kingdom, and directing the education of Athalaric. But the disposition of the royal youth ill repaid the cares of his mother; and one solemn festival, when the Goths were assembled in the palace of Ravenna, he escaped from the apartment of Amalasontha, and complained of a blow which his disobedience had provoked her to inflict. The Barbarians resented the indignity offered to their king, and insisted that he should be rescued from the discipline of women, and educated in the glorious ignorance of his ancestors. The assassination of three of the most formidable malecontents restored the queen-mother to absolute power, but rendered her justly odious to a free people; and the death of Athalaric, who at the age of sixteen was consumed by premature intemperance, left her destitute of any firm support or legal authority. Instead of retiring to private affluence, the daughter of Theodoric conceived the impracticable design of sharing with one of her cousins
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the regal title, and of reserving in her own hands the supreme authority. Theodatus received the proposal with profound respect and affected gratitude; but Cassiodorius had scarce announced to the senate and the emperor that Amalasontha and Theodatus had ascended the throne of Italy, before the Queen was imprisoned by her
A. D. 535.
April 30. perfidious colleague. Her subsequent death was at least with the connivance, if not by the order of the new king.

Justinian beheld with joy the dissensions of the Goths; the imperial ambassadors, while they openly interceded for the queen, prompted by artful hints her private execution. They received intelligence of her death with apparent indignation; and denounced, in their master's name, immortal war against the perfidious assassin. The feeble forces, prepared for the enterprise, were strengthened by the fame of Belisarius; Sicily received the hero with open arms; the garrison of Palermo, which alone attempted to resist, was reduced by a singular stratagem; Belisarius introduced his ships into the harbour, their boats were hoisted by pulleys to the top-mast head; and he filled them with
A. D. 535.
December 31. archers, who, from that station, commanded the ramparts of the city. In the ensuing spring, the prosecution of his designs was interrupted by a dangerous revolt of the African forces;

forces; Carthage was saved by the presence of Belisarius, who unexpectedly landed with a thousand guards; eight thousand rebels were routed by the dexterity of the general; and this victory was scarce obtained, before he was recalled to Sicily to appease a sedition kindled during his absence in his camp.

The feeble Theodatus had consented to negotiate with the emperor of the East; for the poor equivalent of a pension of forty-eight thousand pounds sterling, he offered to resign the kingdom of the Goths and Italians, and spend the remainder of his days in philosophy and agriculture: but in the interval of suspense, two Roman generals, who had entered the province of Dalmatia, were defeated and slain by the Gothic troops; and Theodatus, rising from abject despair to groundless presumption, received, with menace and contempt, the ambassador of Justinian. A. D. 536.

Belisarius, after he had left sufficient garrisons in Palermo and Syracuse, embarked his troops at Messina, and landed them at Rhegium. Ebermor, a Gothic prince, who had married the daughter of Theodatus, was stationed with an army to guard the entrance of Italy; but faithless to his public and private duties, he deserted, with his followers, to the imperial camp. From Rhegium to Naples, near three A. D. 537.

three hundred miles, the fleet and army of Belisarius advanced, without resistance, along the sea-coast. That city was garrisoned by eight hundred Barbarians; the fortifications were defended by precipices, or the sea; the walls and fountains afforded a constant supply of water; and the stock of provisions was sufficient to consume the patience of the besiegers. At the end of twenty days, that of Belisarius was almost exhausted; when his anxiety was relieved by a bold Isaurian, who explored the dry channel of an aqueduct, and reported, that a passage might be perforated, to introduce a file of armed soldiers into the city. After Belisarius had, in vain, admonished the citizens of the impending danger, four hundred Romans entered the aqueduct, raised themselves by a rope which they fastened to an olive tree, surprised the centinels, and opened the gates to their companions. Every crime was practised by the tumultuous victors; and the authority of Belisarius with difficulty prevailed to moderate the calamities which he had predicted.

Theodatus, during the siege of Naples, had secured his person within the walls of Rome; his cavalry was encamped in the Pomptine marshes; but the principal forces of the Goths were distributed in Dalmatia, Venetia, and Gaul. These rigorously scrutinized the character and
weakness

weakness of their unfortunate master. He was declared unworthy of his race, his nation, and his throne. Their general Vitiges, was raised with unanimous applause on the bucklers of his companions ; and Theodatus, endeavouring to escape from the justice of his country, was slaughtered on the Flaminian way by a Goth, whom he had injured in his love. Vitiges, impatient to return to Ravenna, that he might seize the reluctant hand of the daughter of Amalasontha, and establish some faint shadow of hereditary right, persuaded the Goths to retreat from the presence of a victorious enemy. He determined to delay, till next spring, the operations of offensive war ; to summon the scattered forces of the nation ; to relinquish the distant possessions ; and to trust even Rome itself to the faith of its inhabitants. Leuderis, an aged warrior, was left in the capital with four thousand soldiers ; a feeble garrison, incapable of opposing the wishes of the Romans. The deputies of the pope and clergy, the senate and the people, invited the lieutenant of Justinian to accept their voluntary allegiance. Belisarius advanced, without molestation, along the Latin way, which skirted the foot of the mountains, and entered through the Asinarian gate ; the garrison retired along the Flaminian road ; Leuderis alone refused to accompany the fugitives, and was sent as a trophy of
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of victory, with the keys of Rome, to the emperor Justinian.

During the winter the activity of Vitiges had assembled, from their rustic habitations and distant garrisons, the forces of the Goths; and their monarch advanced along the Flaminian way, at the head of one hundred thousand fighting men. The narrow passage of the Milvian bridge was betrayed by the consternation of the Romans; and Belisarius, who had sallied with one thousand

A. D. 537. horse from the city, was suddenly encompassed by the hostile squadrons, while he believed them to be on the other side of the Tyber. The fate of Italy depended on his life; every bow was bent, every javelin directed against him; the Roman general was strong and active; his guards imitated his valour; and the Goths, after the loss of a thousand men, fled before the arms of an hero. They were rashly pursued to their camp: and the Romans, oppressed by numbers, made a precipitate retreat to the city. The public terror was increased by the report that Belisarius was slain. His countenance was indeed disfigured with sweat and blood; his voice was hoarse; his strength was almost exhausted: but he imparted his unconquerable spirit to his desponding companions; the Barbarians felt, and fled again before, their charge; the Flaminian gate was thrown open to
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a real triumph; and Belisarius visited every post, and provided for the public safety, before he could be persuaded to taste the needful refreshments of food and sleep.

The army of the Goths immediately passed the Tyber, and formed the siege of Rome; for the defence of which Belisarius could only confide on the undisciplined zeal of the townsmen, and a band of veterans, who scarce amounted to five thousand men. Eighteen days were spent by the besiegers in military preparations, and constructing rolling towers; on the nineteenth they advanced to the attack. The vigour of the Goths was excited by the hope of victory and spoil; and if a single post had given way, Rome was irrecoverably lost: but amidst tumult and dismay, the whole plan of the attack was distinctly present to the mind of Belisarius. He observed the changes of each instant, weighed every possible advantage, transported his person to the scenes of danger, and communicated his spirit in calm and decisive orders. The contest was fiercely maintained from the morning to the evening; the Barbarians were repulsed on all sides; thirty thousand Goths perished in the bloody action; and Belisarius, sallying from the gates, reduced the hostile engines to ashes. From this day the siege of Rome degenerated into a tedious blockade, which continued almost a year. The
besiegers

besiegers were harassed by frequent and successful skirmishes; but in a more considerable action, which Belisarius was induced to hazard by the clamours of his troops, the Romans were defeated; their retreat was covered by the prudent precautions of the general, whose designs were equally promoted by the vain confidence of the Goths, and the repentance and modesty of his own troops.

But the danger of famine appeared to Belisarius more dreadful than the Gothic arms. On the first idea of a siege, an extraordinary supply of corn was imported from Sicily; the harvests of Campania and Tuscany were forcibly swept away; and Rome was delivered from an useless and devouring multitude by the dismissal of the women, the children, and the slaves; yet these precautions could not, in the last months of the siege, preserve the people from the miseries of scarcity, unwholesome food, and contagious disorders; Belisarius pitied their sufferings; but he rejected, with disdain, the idea of flight, or capitulation; and by his vigilance secured the city from the effects of despair or treachery.

The representations of Belisarius, at length, obtained from Justinian, whose vanity aspired to the conquest of Italy, some feeble reinforcements. Sixteen hundred Huns and Sclavonians entered the city, under the command of Martin and
Vale-

Valerian. Euthalius arrived with large sums of money for the payment of the troops. Procopius was dispatched to collect what assistance Campania could furnish; and Antonina herself boldly traversed the posts of the enemy, and returned, with the Oriental succours, to the relief of her husband. The forces that arrived by sea and land, were united at the mouth of the Tyber. In a council of war, convened by Antonina, it was resolved to force a passage up the stream of the river; and the Goths were apprehensive of disturbing, by rash hostilities, a negotiation, to which Belisarius craftily listened. They believed they beheld the vanguard of a fleet and army, which already covered the Ionian sea and the plains of Campania. This illusion was supported by the haughty language of the Roman general. When the ambassadors of Vitiges offered, for the sake of peace, to renounce the possession of Sicily; "the emperor is not less generous," replied his lieutenant, with a disdainful smile; "in return for a gift which you no longer possess, he presents you with an ancient province of the empire; he resigns to the Goths the sovereignty of the British Island." With equal contempt Belisarius rejected the offer of a tribute; but he consented to a truce of three months, while the Gothic ambassadors enquired their fate from the mouth of Justinian. Alba, Porto, and

Centumcellæ, which had been evacuated by the Goths, he instantly occupied; and he dispatched John the Sanguinary, with two thousand horse, to ravage Picenum, where the Goths had deposited their families and treasures.

While Vitiges hesitated between shame and ruin, his retreat was hastened by domestic alarms. He was informed by his trembling messengers, that John had spread the devastation of war from the Appennine to the Hadriatic. That this formidable chief had defeated his uncle, insulted his capital, and seduced the fidelity of his wife, the daughter of the imperious Amalasontha. His
 A. D. 538. last attempt to storm, or surprise the
 March. city, was repelled by the intrepid vigilance of Belisarius; and the Goths, pressed by famine and despair, one year and nine days from the commencement of the siege, burnt their tents, and tumultuously repassed the Milvian bridge. Vitiges, after dispatching his nephew, Uraias, with an adequate force for the chastisement of Milan which had revolted, at the head of his principal army besieged Rimini; but the feeble rampart was defended by the skill and valour of John the Sanguinary. The eunuch Narses landed in Picenum with two thousand Heruli, and five thousand of the bravest troops of the East. Belisarius himself appeared at the head of ten thousand veterans; the Goths, astonished and dis-

disfmayed, abandoned their standards and their leaders; and Vitiges himself never halted till he found shelter within the walls of Ravenna.

To these walls, and a few fortresses, the Gothic monarchy was reduced; but the imperial army was weakened by the discord of the chiefs. Belisarius, before the end of the siege, had sullied his fame by the arbitrary execution of Constantine, who was accused of rapine, but whose death was secretly imputed to the revenge of Antonina. Each of his colleagues, conscious of the same crime, was apprehensive of the same fate. These encouraged Narses to oppose the conqueror of Rome and Africa; and exhorted the eunuch, to whose counsels they ascribed the relief of Rimini, to assume an independent command. Narses, after yielding with reluctance to the siege of Urbino, deserted his colleague in the night; and with the bands of the Heruli, and ten thousand Romans and confederates, marched away to the conquest of the Æmilian province. Belisarius, with the remnant of his forces reduced Urbino, and laid siege to Fæsulæ, Orvieto, and Auximum. Narses was at last recalled; all dissensions were healed; but in the interval of discord, the Goths were permitted to breathe; Milan was taken; and the northern provinces of Italy were invaded by the Franks.

Theodebert, of Austrasia, the most powerful

of the Merovingian kings, was persuaded, by the gifts of the Goths, to afford them an indirect support. Ten thousand Burgundians, without the apparent consent of their sovereign, descended from the Alps, and joined the troops of Vitiges in the siege of Milan. After an obstinate resistance, that city was reduced by famine; three hundred thousand males were reported to have perished in the massacre; and the walls of Milan were levelled with the ground. Encouraged by this inroad, Theodebert himself appeared at the head of one hundred thousand Barbarians in the plains of Italy. The provinces of Liguria and Æmilia

were abandoned to the rage of the
A. D. 539.

Franks, whose measures were equally hostile to the Romans and the Goths. But a dysentery swept off one third of the victorious army. Theodebert was persuaded to retire, by the mild exhortations of Belisarius; and the death of the Merovingian king, by a wild bull, as he was hunting in the German forests, delivered the empire from the danger of his future enmity.

Belisarius, in the reduction of Osimo, had narrowly escaped the mortal stroke of an arrow; and Vitiges was invested in Ravenna, the fortifications of which were superior to assault; the imperial general was compelled to proceed by the slow, but more certain, attacks of famine

While

While he pressed the blockade, he was surprised by the arrival of two ambassadors from Constantinople, with a treaty of peace signed by Justinian. This disgraceful agreement left the provinces beyond the Po, with the regal title, to the successor of Theodoric : but though each of his officers had delivered a written opinion, that the siege of Ravenna was hopeless, the general boldly rejected the treaty of partition, and resolved to sustain the danger of a generous disobedience. He declared his resolution of leading Vitiges, in chains, to the feet of Justinian. The Goths were astonished at his firmness; they compared the fame and fortune of Belisarius, with the weakness of their unfortunate king; and they offered their arms and treasures to place the hero, as their independent monarch, on the throne of Italy. The policy of Belisarius persuaded them, that he was disposed to comply with their wishes, without engaging an oath for the performance of a treaty, which he secretly abhorred. The gates of Ravenna were thrown open to the supposed king of Italy; and before the Goths could recover from their surprize, the city was secured beyond the danger of revolt. Vitiges was respectfully, but diligently guarded in the palace; the flower of the Gothic youth was selected for the service of the emperor; and the

A. D. 539.
December.

submission of the capital was imitated by the towns and villages of Italy.

The jealousy of Justinian once more recalled Belisarius, who embarked at Ravenna his spoils and captives; the emperor received, with honourable courtesy, both Vitiges and his noble consort; and, as the king of the Goths conformed to the Athanasian faith, he obtained, with a rich inheritance of lands in Asia, the rank of senator and patrician. But the conqueror of Italy was not allowed the well-earned honours of a second triumph. Yet the presence of the hero, whenever he appeared in the streets, attracted the eyes of the people. His fellow-citizens were emboldened by his gentle demeanour; his soldiers were attached by his liberality and justice; and the provincials were engaged by the peace and plenty which they enjoyed under his authority; instead of being injured, the country was enriched, by the march of Roman armies; and such was the rigid discipline of his camp, that not a path could be traced in the neighbouring fields of corn. Belisarius himself was sober and chaste; no one had ever seen him intoxicated with wine; and the most beautiful captives of Gothic and Vandal race, were in vain offered to his embraces.

But the fame of the hero, was tarnished by the degrading tameness of the husband. Antonina
was

was the daughter of a theatrical prostitute; and in the various situations of fortune, she became the companion, the enemy, the servant, and the favourite of the empress Theodora. Before her marriage with Belisarius, Antonina had one husband, and many lovers. Photius, the son of her former nuptials, was of an age to distinguish himself at the siege of Naples: but it was not till the autumn of her age, that she indulged herself in a scandalous attachment to a Thracian youth of the name of Theodosius. The Roman general surprised, at Carthage, the two lovers, almost naked, in a solitary chamber. "With the help of this young man," said the unblushing Antonina, "I was secreting our most precious effects from the knowledge of Justinian." The pious husband consented to disbelieve his own senses, and the youth resumed his garments. At Syracuse, Belisarius was awakened from this delusion, by the information of Macedonia, a female attendant, and two chamberlains. Theodosius escaped from the justice of an injured husband by a hasty flight: but the tears of Antonina assured the credulous hero of her innocence; and he abandoned, to the revenge of a guilty woman, those friends who had presumed to doubt the chastity of his wife. A declaration of Constantine; "I would sooner have punished the adulterers than the boy," was

deeply remembered by Antonina; and when despair armed that officer against his general, her sanguinary advice decided and hastened his execution. Theodosius returned to Italy; the passion of Antonina was unabated; but time inspired her lover with more serious thoughts; he escaped from her embraces, retired to Ephesus, shaved his head, and took refuge in the sanctuary of a monastic life; and it was not till Belisarius moved forward to the Persian war, that Theodosius could be tempted to return to Constantinople.

The shame of the adulteress scarce equalled the unnatural temper of the mother; and the gallant Photius, in the camp beyond the Tigris, was exposed to the secret persecutions of Antonina. Enraged by his own wrongs, and the dishonour of his blood, he revealed to Belisarius the turpitude of his wife. The Roman general, and his son-in-law, confirmed, at the altar, their holy vows of mutual revenge and defence. The dominion of Antonina was impaired by absence; and when she met her husband, in his first and transient emotions, he confined her person, and threatened her life. Photius was more resolved to punish; he flew to Ephesus; extorted from an eunuch of his mother the full confession of her guilt; arrested Theodosius and his treasures in the church of St. John, and confined his captives in a sequestered fortress of Cilicia. Such a daring

daring outrage against public justice, could not pass with impunity. The cause of Antonina was espoused by the empress. Belisarius was hastily recalled, and reconciled to his wife in the presence of Theodora; Theodosius was rescued from his imprisonment; and the short remainder of his life was devoted to the gratification of his mistress; but the premature death of the monk of Ephesus, could only be expiated by the punishment of Photius, who was pursued by the implacable hatred of his mother; though a youth of a sickly constitution and consular dignity, he was exposed to the tortures of the scourge and the rack, which he bore without violating the faith he had pledged to Belisarius. After this cruelty, he was buried in a subterraneous prison, from whence, after three years, he effected his escape, reached the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem, embraced the profession of a monk; and the abbot Photius, after the death of Justinian, was employed to regulate the churches of Egypt.

In the succeeding campaign, Belisarius saved the East; but he offended Theodora, and perhaps the emperor himself. On a rumour of the death of Justinian, the Roman general had spoken the free language of a citizen and a soldier. He was immediately recalled; but that disgrace which for the same crime overwhelmed his colleague, Buzes, was alleviated in Belisarius by the
dignity

dignity of his own character, and the influence of his wife. A fine of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling was levied on his fortunes; and with the office of count, or master of the royal stables, he accepted the conduct of the Italian war. On his departure from Constantinople, his friends, and even the public, were persuaded that he would turn his arms against his ungrateful sovereign; but their hopes were deceived by the unconquerable patience and loyalty of the Roman general.

CHAPTER XXIX.

STATE OF THE BARBARIC WORLD—ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE LOMBARDS ON THE DANUBE—TRIBES AND
INROADS OF THE SCLAVONIANS—ORIGIN, EM-
PIRE, AND EMBASSIES OF THE TURKS—THE
FLIGHT OF THE AVARS—CHOSROES I. OR
NUSHIRVAN, KING OF PERSIA—HIS PROS-
PEROUS REIGN AND WAR WITH THE
ROMANS—THE COLCHIAN, OR LAZIC
WAR—THE ÆTHIOPIANS.

THE regular forces of the empire had once amounted to six hundred and forty-five thousand men; in the time of Justinian they consisted of only one hundred and fifty thousand. These were thinly scattered over sea and land; in Spain and Italy, in Africa and Egypt, on the banks of the Danube, the coast of the Euxine, and the frontiers of Persia. The neglected pay of the soldier was compensated by the privilege of rapine and indolence; the want of national spirit was supplied by the precarious faith and disorderly service

service of Barbarian mercenaries. The generals, instead of promoting the public service, laboured only to prevent the success, or to sully the reputation of their colleagues. Military honour was almost extinct; and the fame of former heroes seemed confined alone to the persons of Belisarius and Narfes. The emperor, timid though ambitious, fomented the divisions of the Barbarians by the arts of flattery and falsehood, and invited by his patience and liberality the repetition of injuries. Antioch was destroyed by the Persians, and Justinian trembled in his palace for the safety of his capital, while his lieutenant achieved the conquests of Carthage, Rome, and Ravenna.

The Goths, to oppose the arms of Belisarius, had relinquished the barrier of the Upper Danube, and evacuated Pannonia and Noricum. The Gepidæ, since the death of Attila, had possessed the plains of Upper Hungary and the Transylvanian hills. The vacant fortifications of the Danube were diligently occupied by these Barbarians; their standards were planted on the walls of Sirmium and Belgrade; and the injury was aggravated by the ironical tone of their apology. “So extensive, O Cæsar! are your dominions; so numerous are your cities; that you are continually seeking for nations to whom, either in peace or war, you may relinquish these useless possessions. The Gepidæ are your
“ brave

“ brave and faithful allies ; and if they have anticipated your gifts, they have shewn a just confidence in your bounty.” The emperor, instead of assuming himself the protection of his subjects, invited a strange people to avenge the insult of the invaders ; to occupy the provinces between the Danube and the Alps ; and to check the ambition of the Gepidæ by the fame and power of the LOMBARDS.

This appellation, a corruption of *Langobards*, which denoted the length of beard, was appropriated to a barbarous people, who in the time of Augustus and Trajan, were discovered between the Elbe and the Oder. The smallness of their numbers was recruited by the adoption of their bravest slaves ; and alone, amidst their powerful neighbours, they defended, by arms, their martial independence. Amidst the conflicts of the various nations of the north, they gradually descended towards the south and the Danube ; and preserved, during four hundred years, their ancient valour and ferocious manners. The Heruli, who inhabited the southern provinces of Poland, were defeated and dispersed by these more hardy Barbarians ; who passed the Danube at the solicitation of Justinian, to reduce, according to treaty, the cities of Noricum and Pannonia. Their predatory incursions often violated the safety of their Roman allies ; and a contest of thirty years
with

with the Gepidæ, was only terminated by the extirpation of that people. Forty thousand of the Lombards perished in the decisive battle which broke the power of their adversaries, transferred the fears of Justinian, and displayed the character of Alboin, the prince of the victorious nation, and the future conqueror of Italy.

The two great tribes who, in the reign of Justinian, wandered over the plains of Ruffia, Lithuania, and Poland, were distinguished by the name of BULGARIANS and SCLAVONIANS. The former, who touched the Euxine and the lake Mæotis, derived from the Huns their name and descent, their arms and their manners; and were divided into two hostile parties, who pursued each other with implacable hatred; these were both equally attracted by Roman wealth, and their rapid marches could only be stopped by the Baltic sea, and the extreme cold and poverty of the north. The form of the Sclavonians differed from the swarthy Tartars; and they approached, without attaining, the lofty stature and fair complexion of the Germans. Their huts were hastily constructed of rough timber, and erected in the depth of forests, or on the banks of rivers. The fertility of the soil, rather than the labour of the natives, supplied the rustic plenty of the Sclavonians; their sheep and horned cattle were large and numerous; the fields which they
sowed

sowed with millet, afforded them a coarse but wholesome food ; and even in their savage state, they are represented as possessing the virtues of patience, chastity, and hospitality. They adored, as the supreme God, the invisible master of thunder ; but they disdained to obey any prince, or even magistrate ; and their passions were too headstrong to compose any system of equal law or general defence. Some voluntary respect was yielded to age or valour ; but each tribe existed as a separate and independent republic ; they fought on foot almost naked, and, except an unwieldy shield, without any defensive armour ; their weapons of offence were a bow, a quiver of small poisoned arrows, and a rope, which they dexterously threw from a distance, and entangled their enemy in a running noose.

The intermediate boundaries between the Slavonians and the Bulgarians were scarce known to the Barbarians themselves. Their importance was measured by their vicinity to the empire. The level country of Moldavia and Wallachia was occupied by a tribe of the Slavonians, distinguished by the appellation of Antes ; against these Justinian erected the fortifications of the Lower Danube, and laboured to secure the alliance of a people seated in the direct channel of northern inundation. But the Antes wanted power or inclination to stem the torrent. The Slavonian

nian foot followed with equal speed the Bulgarian horse, and a free retreat was purchased through the country of the Gepidæ, who commanded the passage of the Upper Danube, by the payment of a piece of gold for each soldier. The uniform repetition of annual incursions was almost effaced by the invasion of the Bulgarians, in the year, and about the time, that Ravenna surrendered; they spread from the suburbs of Constantinople to the Ionian gulf, and repassed the Danube with the miserable train of one hundred and twenty thousand captives. In a subsequent inroad, they pierced the wall of the Thracian Chersonesus, and returned with the spoils of Asia; another party penetrated from the streights of Thermopylæ to the isthmus of Corinth, and involved in destruction what yet remained of Grecian magnificence. Three thousand Slavonians, divided into three bands, passed the Danube and the Hebrurs, vanquished the Roman generals who opposed their progress, and plundered, with impunity, the cities of Illyricum and Thrace. So fatal were their devastations, that the historian of Justinian asserts, these inroads annually consumed two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of the Roman empire.

Europe, amidst these calamities, felt the shock of a revolution, which first revealed the name and nation of the Turks. This martial people boast that

that their founder, like Romulus, was suckled by a she-wolf; and the same fable has been invented, without any intermediate intercourse, by the Latian, and the Scythian shepherds. The authority of the khan of the Geougen extended over the mountains of Altai, the centre of Asia; and the Turks who inhabited that ridge of hills were compelled, for the service of their master, to forge into arms the minerals they contained. The annual ceremony, in which a piece of iron was heated in the fire, and a smith's hammer was successively handled by the prince and his nobles, recorded for ages the humble profession of the Turkish nation. Bertezena first ex-

A. D. 545.

horted his countrymen to use the weapons they prepared for their masters, as the instruments of freedom and victory; their valour was signalized in successful combats against the neighbouring tribes; but when their leader presumed to ask in marriage the daughter of the great khan, the demand was contemptuously rejected. A more noble alliance with a princess of China expiated this disgrace; and the subsequent defeat, and almost extirpation, of the nation of the Geougen, established in Tartary the powerful empire of the Turks. But though they reigned over the north, they remained faithfully attached to the mountain of Altai; and disdained the alluring luxury of China; in their religion,

they preserved the simple practice of their ancestors. The supreme Deity was acknowledged by the exclusive honours of sacrifice; but they also expressed their obligations to the air, the fire, the water, and the earth. Their written laws were severe and impartial; theft was punished by tenfold restitution; adultery, treachery, and murder, with death; but no chastisement could equal the inexpressible guilt of cowardice. The northern limits of the Turkish conquests extended as far as Kamtchatka; and on the south, the White Huns, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks of the Indus, yielded to their irresistible valour. On the side of the west, they passed the lake Mæotis when frozen, and besieged the Roman city of Bosphorus; and to the east, the empire of China was continually afflicted by their destructive incursions. This extent of empire compelled the Turkish monarch to establish three subordinate princes of his own blood, who soon forgot their gratitude and allegiance; the conquerors were enervated by luxury; the vanquished nations resumed their independence; and the power of the Turks was limited to a period of two hundred years.

The nation of the Ogors, on the banks of the Til, was subdued by the Turks; their khan, with three hundred thousand of his subjects, was slain

in

in battle; about twenty thousand surviving warriors, preferring exile to servitude, followed the road of the Volga, assumed the false but formidable name of the Avars, whose lawful proprietors had submitted to the Turkish yoke, and at the foot of mount Caucasus, in the country of the Alani and Circassians, first heard of the splendour and weakness of the Roman empire. Their ambassador, with the permission of the governor of Lazica, was transported by the Euxine sea to Constantinople, and the improvident Justinian accepted the proffered alliance of a strange people, who readily devoted themselves to the service of the empire; but demanded in return precious gifts, annual subsidies, and fruitful possessions. A. D. 558. Valentin, one of the emperor's guards, returned with the ambassador to the camp at the foot of mount Caucasus; he easily persuaded the Avars, by splendid presents and promises, to invade the enemies of Rome; and in less than ten years, these fugitives had reduced the Bulgarian and Sclavonian tribes, and pitched their camps on the Danube and the Elbe. The chagan, the peculiar title of their king, still affected to cultivate the friendship of the emperor; but the virtue or treachery of an Avar betrayed the secret hostile designs of his countrymen, and awakened the fears and jealousy of the imperial court.

But though the pretended Avars had penetrated to such a distance from the arms of their conquerors, an ambassador, from the great khan, had traced their steps, and arrived at the Byzantine court to propose the alliance of the Turks against the Persian monarch. Maniach, the prince of the Sogdoites, enumerated the conquests and power of his master, Disabul; and requested that the successor of Constantine would not espouse the cause of rebels and fugitives. The emperor professedly renounced the Avars, and his ratification of a treaty with the Turks was carried by a Roman minister to the foot of Mount Altai. The ambition of Chosroes cemented the union of the Turks and Romans, who touched his dominions on either side; but those distant nations, regardless of each other, consulted the dictates of interest, instead of the obligations of treaties; and the ambassadors of Tiberius were reduced to listen to the reproaches of the son and successor of Disabul. “ You Romans,” said the haughty Barbarian, “ speak with many tongues, “ but they are tongues of deceit and perjury; “ while your master solicits my friendship with “ flattering and hollow words, he is sunk to a “ confederate of my fugitive Ogors. If I con- “ descend to march against those contemptible “ slaves, they will tremble at the sound of our “ whips; they will be trampled like a nest of
“ ants

“ants under the feet of my innumerable cavalry. I am not ignorant of the road which they have followed to invade your empire; nor can I be deceived by the vain pretence, that Mount Caucasus is the impregnable barrier of the Romans. I know the course of the Niefter, the Danube, and the Hebrus; the most warlike nations have yielded to the arms of the Turks; and from the rising to the setting sun, the earth is my inheritance.” Notwithstanding this menace, a sense of advantage prevailed over the resentment of the khan, and the alliance was renewed between the Turks and the Romans.

Cabades, the Persian monarch, whose victory over Amida we have already mentioned, had experienced, during a distracted reign, the vicissitudes of fortune. A prisoner in the hands of his subjects; an exile among the enemies of Persia; his last years were embittered by the disorders of his people, and the fanaticism of Mazdak, who asserted the community of women, and the equality of mankind. Cabades had recovered his liberty by prostituting the honour of his wife, and regained his kingdom by the aid of the Barbarians, who had slain his father. His partiality for his third son Chosroes, or Nushirvan, induced him to alter by his will the customary order of succession; and to render the youth more illus-

trious, Cabades was desirous that he should be adopted by the emperor Justin. The Persian prince had already advanced, with the consent of the Byzantine court, as far as the Tigris, when his journey was stopped by the advice of the quæstor Proclus, lest the adoption might be urged as a claim to the inheritance of his Roman parent. The indignity sunk deep in the mind of Chosroes, who soon after, by the death of his father, was exalted by a powerful party to the throne of Persia.

The repose of Chosroes was secured, on the pretence of a slight conspiracy, by the death of his two elder brothers, their families, and adherents. One guiltless youth was dismissed by a veteran general; and this act of humanity overbalanced the merit of reducing twelve nations to the obedience of Persia. Mebodes had fixed the diadem on the head of Chosroes himself; but he delayed to attend the royal summons till he had performed the duties of a military review; and his sentence was pronounced by the inflexible pride and ingratitude of his master. But where his own dignity interfered not, the government of Chosroes was firm, rigorous, and impartial. He abolished the dangerous theory of common or equal possessions; he revived and published the laws of the first Artaxerxes; he extended his care to the education of his subjects, and the cultivation

tivation of their lands; and the example of the monarch awakened the curiosity of an ingenious people, and diffused the light of science throughout the dominions of Persia.

When Chosroes ascended the throne of Persia, he found that kingdom involved in a war with the emperor of Constantinople. The policy of Justinian consented to purchase a peace at the price of eleven thousand pounds of gold; the gates of Caucasus were assumed by the Persian; and the demolition of Dara was suspended on condition that it should never be made the residence of the general of the East. This interval was diligently improved by the ambition of Justinian; the avarice of Chosroes was soothed by a large portion of the spoils of Carthage; but he heard with astonishment, envy, and fear, that Sicily, Italy, and Rome itself, had been reduced in three rapid campaigns by the arms of Belisarius. He excited his bold and subtle vassal Almondar, who waged an obscure war against the chief of the tribe of Gassen, a confederate of the empire, to invade and ravage the province of Syria; and Justinian, instead of repelling by arms the incursions of Almondar, endeavoured to seduce his allegiance; and invited the distant nations of Æthiopia and Scythia to attack the dominions of the Persian. The discovery of this hostile correspondence justified the complaints of the Goths and Armenians, who about the same time im-

plored the protection of Chosroes. Their representations were uniform, weighty, and effectual. “ The ambitious and faithless Justinian aspires to
“ be the sole master of the world. Has he not
“ violated the privileges of Armenia, the independence of Colchos, and the wild liberty of
“ the Tzanian mountains? has he not usurped
“ with equal avidity the city of Bosphorus on the
“ frozen Mæotis, and the vale of palm trees on
“ the shores of the Red Sea? The Moors, the
“ Vandals, and the Goths, have been successively
“ oppressed, and each nation has calmly remained the spectator of their neighbour’s ruin.
“ Embrace, O King! the favourable moment; the East is left without defence, while the armies of Justinian, and his renowned general,
“ are detained in the distant region of the West.
“ If you hesitate and delay, Belisarius will soon
“ return from the Tyber to the Tygris, and
“ Persia may enjoy the wretched consolation of
“ being the last devoured.” These arguments were sufficient to persuade an ambitious king, and Chosroes determined in person to support the cause of the supplicants.

At the head of his army, which had been assembled in the plains of Babylon, the son of Cabades, prudently declining the strong cities of Mesopotamia, followed the western bank of the Euphrates, and burst by treachery and surprize the
the

the gates of Dura. His rapid cavalry pressed forward into the heart of Syria, while the feeble enemy vanished at his approach, and disappointed him of the honour of victory. Hierapolis, Aleppo, Apamea, and Chalcis, were successively besieged. They redeemed their safety by a ransom of gold and silver; and their new master enforced, without observing, the terms of capitulation. Fourteen years before Antioch had been ruined by an earthquake; but the capital of the East, the new Theopolis, had been raised from the ground by the liberality of Justinian. Germanus, the emperor's nephew, refused to trust his person within the walls of a besieged city; but the people of Theopolis were elated by the sudden reinforcement of six thousand soldiers. The Persian host mounted with scaling ladders to the assault, and the Roman mercenaries fled through the opposite gate. The city was delivered to the flames, though some small portion was preserved by the avarice of the victor, and the sudden change of the wind. Eighteen miles below Antioch the river Orontes falls into the Mediterranean; the haughty Persian visited the term of his conquests, and after bathing in the sea, offered a solemn sacrifice to the sun. With the spoil of Syria, he slowly moved to the Euphrates, threw a temporary bridge over that river, and on his return founded near Ctesiphon,
a city

a city to perpetuate the joint names of Chosroes and Antioch. Palestine, and the holy wealth of Jerusalem, next inflamed his desires; and Constantinople, and the palace of the Cæsars, no longer appeared impregnable or remote.

To disappoint these hopes, the conqueror of Italy was recalled to the defence of the East. While Chosroes pursued his designs on the coast of the Euxine, Belisarius encamped beyond the Euphrates within six miles of Nisibis. His plan to draw the Persians from that impregnable citadel was disconcerted by the untractable spirit of Arethas, and his Arabs, whom he had detached to ravage Assyria, and who neither returned, nor sent any intelligence of his motions. After reducing the fortress of Sisaurane, the Roman general was recalled; but the dangers of the ensuing spring restored him to confidence and command, and the hero was dispatched to repel by his name the invasion of Syria. He found the Roman generals imprisoned by their fears in the fortifications of Hierapolis. He commanded them, without listening to their timid counsels, to follow him to Europus, where he had resolved to collect his forces. His firm attitude on the banks of the Euphrates restrained Chosroes from advancing towards Palestine, and the Persian monarch was deluded by the address, and awed by the genius of the lieutenant of Justinian. He
dreaded

dreaded to hazard a decisive battle in a distant country; he hastened to repass the Euphrates; and Belisarius pressed his retreat by affecting to oppose it. The second removal of Belisarius from the Persian to the Italian war, displayed the extent of his genius. Fifteen generals who succeeded him were defeated by four thousand Persians, as they led through the mountains of Armenia an army of thirty thousand Romans. But the cities of Dara and Edeffa resisted the assault of the Persians, and the calamities of war were suspended by those of famine. The eastern frontier was protected by a tacit agreement between the two sovereigns, and the arms of Chosroes were confined to the Colchian or Lazic wars.

The length of the Euxine sea from Constantinople to the Phasis, may be computed at seven hundred miles. In the course of one hundred miles the Phasis, which descends from the craggy mountains of the Iberian Caucasus, divides the celebrated region of Colchos, or Mingrelia. Three sides of the country are fortified by the Iberian and Armenian mountains; and the maritime coast extends about two hundred miles from the neighbourhood of Trebizond to Dioscurias, and the confines of Circassia. The soil and climate are both injuriously moist; but the fields produce a grain, not unlike millet, called *gom*, which supplied the ordinary food of the people; and the

the stems of the vines, as well as the quality of wine, display the unassisted powers of Nature. The gold mines to the south of Trebizond were a subject of national dispute between Justinian and Chosroes; and it is not improbable that a vein of that precious metal is diffused through the circle of the hills.

The natives of Mingrelia, amidst the rudest ignorance, discover a singular dexterity both of mind and hand; and although the want of union exposes them to their more powerful neighbours, a bold and intrepid spirit has animated the Colchians of every age. In the host of Xerxes they served on foot; but in their own country the use of cavalry has more generally prevailed. The meanest of the peasants disdain to walk; each noble is possessed, perhaps, of two hundred horses; and above five thousand are reported to belong to the prince of Mingrelia. The Colchian government has always been a pure and hereditary kingdom; and the authority of the sovereign is only restrained by the turbulence of his subjects; but it is scarce credible, that from the single tribe of Suanians he could assemble two hundred thousand soldiers; or that the population of Mingrelia now amounts to four millions of inhabitants.

The Colchians boast that their ancestors checked the victories of Sesostris: without any memorable

morable effort they sunk under the arms of Cyrus; and their territory was added by Mithridates to the wide circle of his dominions. In the pursuit of that prince, the Romans advanced to the banks of the Phasis; but the senate disdained the useless conquest; and the family of a Greek rhetorician, of the name of Polemo, was permitted to reign in Colchos, from the time of Mark Antony to that of Nero. After that race was extinct, the eastern Pontus extended no farther than the neighbourhood of Trebizond. Beyond those limits the fortifications of Hyffus, of Ap-sarus, of the Phasis, of Dioscurias, and of Pityus, were guarded by Roman detachments. As the strength of the empire was gradually impaired, the Romans, stationed on the Phasis, were withdrawn or expelled; and the tribe of Lazi imposed their name and dominion on the ancient kingdom of Colchos. The king of Lazica was soon compelled to receive his sceptre at the hands of the Persian monarch; and the successors of Constantine acquiesced in the injurious claim. In the beginning of the sixth century their influence was restored by the introduction of christianity; Zathus had been exalted to the regal dignity by the favour of the great king; but the pious youth abhorred the ceremonies of the magi, and sought baptism at Constantinople. The king of Lazica was invested by
the

the emperor Justin with the diadem; and the revolt of Colchos was excused by the venerable names of religion and hospitality.

But the connection between the Lazi and the Romans was soon interrupted by the avarice and ambition of the latter. They erected a fort at Petra, which commanded the territory to the south of the Phasis. The country was insulted, the commerce monopolized, and the prince Gubazes reduced to a pageant of royalty by the officers of Justinian. The indignant Lazi solicited the aid of Chosroes; the ambitious monarch silently led his troops to the frontiers of Iberia; they were conducted through the narrow passes of Mount Caucasus; Petra capitulated; and Gubazes laid his diadem at the feet of the Persian monarch; but the natives soon discovered that the new master excelled even their old in the arts of oppression. The intolerant zeal of the magi provoked the fervour of a christian people; Chosroes, sensible of their hatred, had given orders to assassinate the king, and to transplant the people; but these designs were averted by the jealousy of the Colchians; their repentance was accepted by Justinian; and Dagisteus was commanded, with seven thousand Romans, and one thousand Zani, to expel the Persians from the coast of the Euxine.

The siege of Petra, which the imperial general,

ral, with the aid of the Lazi, immediately undertook, is one of the most remarkable actions of the age. The city was seated on a craggy rock; the fortifications of Justinian had been strengthened by the Persian conqueror; the stock of provisions was adequate to the consumption of five years; and fifteen hundred Persians steadily opposed the assault of the Romans; but the walls were shaken, and the garrison reduced to four hundred, when Petra was unexpectedly relieved; the breaches were hastily stopped, and three thousand soldiers were devoted to the labours of a new siege; the operations both of the attack and defence were conducted with skilful obstinacy. Of six thousand Romans who mounted the scaling ladders, their general Bessas, a veteran of seventy years, was the first; his fall and danger animated the efforts of his troops, and their numbers oppressed the strength, without subduing the spirit of the garrison. Seven hundred Persians had perished in the siege; one thousand and seventy fell in the last assault; of seven hundred and thirty made prisoners, only eighteen were without wounds; and the remaining five hundred retired to the citadel; and, rejecting the fairest offers of capitulation, were lost in the flames.

The Persian forces were at length collected, and poured into the country of Colchos; they devoured, with their numbers, the scanty sustenance

nance of the people, and compelled the Romans gradually to retreat towards the edge of the sea shore; their camp was defended by strong intrenchments, the river Phasis, the Euxine, and a fleet of gallies. The Persians, in their endeavours to force an enemy, whom despair had rendered desperate, were repulsed with disgrace, and pursued with the slaughter of ten thousand of their bravest soldiers; and Chosroes insensibly relinquished the Colchian war, in the just persuasion that it was impossible to reduce a distant country against the efforts of its inhabitants. The fidelity of Gubazes had sustained the most rigorous trials; he had disdained the temptations of the Persian court; but he finally presumed to complain of the lieutenants of Justinian, who spared his enemies, and trampled on his allies. The truth was considered as a libel; and Gubazes, in consequence of an ambiguous order from the Byzantine court, was stabbed in the security of a friendly interview.

After a variety of negotiations and hostilities, Justinian and Chosroes concluded, in their declining age, a treaty, which for fifty years gave repose to their exhausted frontiers; but the Persian monarch, at the same time that he renounced the dangerous claim to the sovereignty of Colchos, extorted from the Romans the annual payment of thirty thousand pieces of gold; and the small-

smallness of the sum openly revealed the disgrace of a tribute. But the power of the son of Cobades had increased with the weakness of Justinian; he had subdued the rebels of Hyrcania, reduced the province of Cabul and Zablestan, on the banks of the Indus, broke the power of the Euthalites, and honourably terminated the Turkish war; and according to the language of the Orientals, his empire extended from Ferganah in Transoxiana, to Arabia Felix.

Justinian, in his alliance with the Æthiopians, has been accused of introducing a people of savage negroes into civilized society; but the olive complexion, hair, shape, and feature of the Abyssinians, distinguish them from the original natives of Africa, and mark them as a colony of Arabs. They professed the christian religion; had gleaned the rudiments of science from Egypt; their vessels traded to the isle of Ceylon; and seven kingdoms obeyed the Negus, or chief prince of Abyssinia. Justinian was flattered by the hope of diverting the silk trade through the channel of Abyssinia, and of exciting the forces of Arabia against the Persian king. But though the ambassador of the emperor was received with respect by the Negus, the proposal of the silk trade was eluded, and the invasion of Persia evaporated in empty menaces. Instead of enlarging his conquests, the king of Æthiopia was incapable

of defending his possessions; the Æthiopians were expelled from the continent of Asia; and their defeat is connected with the fall of the Roman empire; since a christian power in Arabia must have crushed Mahomet in his cradle; and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the state of the civil and religious world.

CHAPTER XXX.

REBELLIONS OF AFRICA—RESTORATION OF THE
GOTHIC KINGDOM BY TOTILA—LOSS AND RE-
COVERY OF ROME—FINAL CONQUEST OF ITALY
BY NARSES—EXTINCTION OF THE OSTROGOTHS
—DEFEAT OF THE FRANKS AND ALEMANNI
—LAST VICTORY, DISGRACE, AND DEATH
OF BELISARIUS—DEATH AND CHARAC-
TER OF JUSTINIAN.

JUSTINIAN expected, from his new acquisitions, to gratify his avarice, as well as pride. The victorious march of Belisarius had been closely followed by a rapacious minister of the finances; and the emperor, who had heard the complaints of an oppressed people with indifference, was awakened by the clamours of military discontent. Many of the Roman soldiers had married the widows and daughters of the Vandals, and claimed, by the right of conquest and inheritance, the estates which Genferic had assigned to

his victorious troops. The mutiny was inflamed by the Heruli, who had imbibed the doctrines of the Arian sect, and beheld, with regret, the triumph of the orthodox church. Four hundred Vandals, destined by Belisarius for the service of the East, seized the vessels they were embarked in, ran ashore on a desert coast of Africa, and erected the standard of independence on Mount Aurafius. A furious sedition, at the same time, raged throughout Carthage. The life of Solomon was attempted; the city was pillaged; the governor, with seven companions, escaped to Sicily; and eight thousand insurgents, assembled in the field of Bulla, elected as their chief, Stozza, a private soldier, of commanding eloquence and daring courage. Vanquished by Belisarius and the nephew of the emperor, he successfully employed the arts of negociation. A Roman army was seduced from their allegiance; the chiefs, who had trusted to his promises, were massacred by his order; and when he had exhausted every resource of force or perfidy, Stozza retired to the wilds of Mauritania, obtained the daughter of a Barbarian prince, and eluded the pursuit of his enemies by the report of his death: but as soon as the public disorders were again mature, Stozza appeared in arms at the gates of Carthage; and when he fell in single combat, he rejoiced that his own javelin had reached the heart of his antagonist.

antagonist. The example of Stoza inflamed the ambition of Gontharis; he privately negotiated with the Moors, excited a sedition of the guards, in which the exarch Areobindus perished; and for thirty days ruled Carthage with absolute authority. He was stabbed, at the end of that term, by Artaban at a banquet; and the dagger of an Armenian prince restored Carthage to the Roman empire.

The victory of Mount Auras had awed the Moors into momentary submission; they respected the character of Solomon; but they hated and despised the pride and luxury of his two nephews, Cyrus and Sergius. The latter had perfidiously massacred, at his table, fourscore deputies of a Moorish tribe; the clamour of revenge was echoed through the vallies of Mount Atlas; the Moors were commanded by Antalas, who had formerly signalized his valour by a defeat of the Vandals. Solomon himself, as he advanced, was astonished at the superior numbers and fierce aspect of the Barbarians. He proposed a treaty, and offered to bind himself by the most solemn oaths. "By what oaths can he bind himself?" interrupted the indignant Moors: "will he swear by the gospels, the divine books of the Christians?" "It was on those books, that the faith of his nephew, Sergius, was pledged to eighty of our innocent and unfortunate brethren: before we

“ trust them a second time, let us try their efficacy in the chastisement of perjury, and the vindication of their own honour.” Their honour was vindicated in the field of Tebeste, by the death of Solomon, and the total loss of his army. The insolence of the victors was checked by the arrival of fresh troops; seventeen of their princes were slain in the same battle; but their successive inroads soon curtailed the Roman dominion; the country was almost converted into a desert; and Procopius asserts, that five millions of Africans were consumed by the wars and government of Justinian.

The Goths had been defeated by the arms of Belisarius; they had lost their king, their capital, their provinces, and two hundred thousand of their bravest countrymen: but Pavia was still defended by a thousand valiant Goths: and these, after a succession of turbulent revolutions, elected Totila, a valiant youth, who reviewed the national force of five thousand soldiers, and undertook the restoration of the kingdom of Italy. Verona had been surprised by Artabazus, at the head of one hundred Persians, in the service of the empire; the Roman generals had halted about sixty furlongs from the city, to regulate the division of the spoil. The Goths, who had fled on the first assault, discovered the weakness of the victors; the Persians were overwhelmed; and
Artabazus,

Artabazus, by leaping from a wall, preserved a life, which he lost, a few days afterwards, in single combat with a Barbarian. Near Faenza, twenty thousand Romans were defeated by Totila; who passed the Po, traversed the A. D. 541, Apennine, and marched through the 544 heart of Italy to form the siege of Naples. The emperor dispatched to the relief of that city, a fleet of gallies, and a body of Thracian and Armenian soldiers. These landed in Sicily: but the succours which the commander, an unwarlike magistrate of that island, tardily imparted, were intercepted by Totila; and Naples was compelled to surrender to the Goths; who, after reducing Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria, advanced to Tivoli, within twenty miles of Rome; and exhorted the senate and people to compare the miseries of imperial tyranny, with the blessings of the Gothic reign.

During three years, from the departure of Belisarius, Italy had been oppressed by the uniform vices of eleven chiefs; and the inhabitants of the country impatiently expected their deliverance from the virtues of a Barbarian. Totila was chaste and temperate; and his friends and enemies equally had reason to depend on his faith and clemency. The fortifications of the strong towns he demolished, to save the people from the calamities of a future siege: and his discipline

protected the husbandman from the injuries of war. The Roman captives and deserters were tempted to enlist in the service of a liberal and courteous adversary; the slaves were attracted by the promise that they never should be delivered to their masters; and from the thousand warriors of Pavia, a new people, under the appellation of Goths, was insensibly formed in the camp of Totila.

Such an antagonist was worthy the arms of Belisarius; and the Gothic war was A. D. 544. imposed as a trust, or an exile, on that veteran commander. At the head of a small band he entered the port of Ravenna, and dispatched orders, rather than supplies, to the subordinate cities. But he soon discovered that the affections of the Italians were alienated from the empire; and that he was sent to remain an impotent spectator of the glory of a young Barbarian. He represented to Justinian the exhausted state of the country, and the difficulties which surrounded him. "If the war," said he, "would be achieved by the presence of Belisarius alone, your wishes are satisfied; Belisarius is in the midst of Italy: but if you desire to conquer, far other preparations are requisite; without a military force, the title of general is an empty name. It would be expedient to restore to my service my own veterans and domestic

“ meſſic guards. Before I can take the field, I
“ muſt receive an adequate ſupply of light and
“ heavy armed troops; and it is only with ready
“ money that you can procure the indiſpenſable
“ aid of a powerful body of cavalry of the
“ Huns.” The meſſage of Belifarius was neglected; and the Roman general repaſſed the Hadriatic, and expected at Dyrrachium the arrival of the troops, which ſlowly aſſembled; even theſe were inadequate to the deliverance of Rome. The Appian way was covered by the Barbarians; the prudence of Belifarius declined a battle; and he preferred the ſafe navigation from the coaſt of Epirus to the mouth of the Tyber.

Rome was guarded by the valour, and afflicted by the avarice of Beſſas, a veteran chief of Gothic extraction, who defended her walls with three thouſand ſoldiers, and extracted a profitable trade from the continuance of the ſiege. The city had already endured the calamities of famine, when the hopes of the people were revived by the aſſurance that Belifarius was landed at the *port*. That intrepid general, while his cavalry advanced along the public road to awe the enemy, embarked his infantry and proviſions in large boats, and burſt the iron chain, and deſtroyed the barrier, which Totila had erected to intercept the navigation of the Tyber. The triumph-

triumphant Romans shouted victory, and Rome had been preserved, if the wisdom of Belisarius had not been defeated by the misconduct of his officers. He had previously commanded Beffas to sally from the city; and had fixed his lieutenant Isaac, by a peremptory order, to the port; but avarice rendered Beffas immoveable, and the youthful ardour of Isaac delivered him into the hands of a superior enemy. The news of his defeat was hastily carried to Belisarius; he paused, and reluctantly founded a retreat to save the only harbour he possessed on the Tuscan coast. The agitation of his mind was attended by a dangerous fever, and Rome was left without support to the mercy or indignation of Totila.

Famine had relaxed the strength and discipline of the garrison; four Isaurian centinels betrayed the Asinarian gate to the Gothic king. Beffas A.D. 546. and his soldiers escaped by flight, and
Dec. 17. the principal inhabitants accompanied their governor. At the humble prayer of Pelagius, the archdeacon, the lives of the Romans were spared, and the chastity of the women preserved from the passions of the soldiers. But the most precious spoils of Rome were reserved for the Gothic treasury, and the rest was abandoned to the free pillage of the soldiers. One third of the city walls was thrown down by the stern command of Totila; and the prudent remonstrance of
Belisarius

Belisarius alone, who warned the Gothic monarch not to sully his fame by the destruction of those monuments which were the glory of the dead, and the delight of the living, averted the fatal decree of the Barbarian, that Rome should be changed into a pasture for cattle. After stationing an army in the neighbourhood of the city, to observe the motions of Belisarius, Totila, with the remainder of his forces, marched into Lucania and Apulia, and occupied one of the camps of Hannibal, on the summit of Mount Garganus.

On the departure of Totila, Belisarius sallied from the port at the head of a thousand horse, cut in pieces the enemy who opposed his progress, entered the ancient city, and erected his standard on the capitol. The A. D. 547. greatest part of his troops were summoned to his support, the inhabitants were recalled by the love of their country, the walls were restored with rude materials, and the keys of Rome were sent, a second time, to Justinian. At the expiration of twenty-five days the Gothic king returned, eager for revenge; but his troops, in three general assaults, were repulsed by the firmness and skill of Belisarius; and the fame of Totila, sunk as it had risen, with the fortune of his arms. It remained for the emperor, by powerful efforts, to second the abilities of his lieutenant; but Belisarius,

rius, after a long silence, was commanded to leave a garrison in Rome, and to march to suppress the revolt of Lucania; without treasures or troops he was abandoned to an inglorious warfare, till Antonina obtained, after the death of the empress, the permission of his return.

The dagger of conspiracy menaced the life which had escaped the sword of the Barbarians.

A. D. 488. Artaban, who had chastised the African tyrant, aspired to Præjecta, the emperor's niece; his pride was hurt by a refusal; the death of Justinian was resolved on; but the conspirators delayed the execution till they could also surprise Belisarius. The interval of delay produced a confession of the conspiracy. Artaban and his accomplices were condemned by the senate; but the clemency of Justinian pardoned, after a gentle confinement, their flagitious designs; and Belisarius, endeared to him by former services, and their common danger, was elevated to the high rank of general of the east, and count of the domestics. His only daughter Joannina was betrothed to Anastasius, the nephew of the empress, whose interposition forwarded the consummation of their youthful loves; but on the death of Theodora, the resentment of Antonina sacrificed the happiness and honour of her daughter, and dissolved the imperfect nuptials before they

they had been ratified by the ceremonies of the church.

On the departure of Belisarius, Totila once more formed the siege of Rome, and the inhabitants were again betrayed by the venality of some Isaurians. The gate of St. Paul was opened, the Barbarians poured into the city, and the flying garrison was intercepted before they could reach the harbour of Centumcellæ. But Totila no longer entertained a wish of
A. D. 549.
destroying the edifices of Rome, which he now respected as the seat of his Gothic kingdom. From the capital he extended his conquests over Sicily, Sardinia, and Corfica; and the sea coast of Greece was ravaged by a fleet of three hundred gallies; yet amidst his victories, the Barbarian repeated his desire of peace, and offered to employ the Gothic arms in the service of the empire.

Justinian was again aroused to the conquest of Italy by the adjurations of pope Vigilius. A fleet and army for the relief of Sicily was entrusted to the valour and gratitude of the conspirator Artaban. But the command of the principal force was reserved for Germanus, the emperor's nephew, whose rank and merit had long been depressed by the jealousy of the court. His promotion revived the affections of the Italians, and engaged the veterans in the voluntary service of
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the empire. But the designs of Germanus were terminated by his speedy malady and death ; yet his very name had given energy to the Italian war. Ancona, Crotona, and Centumcellæ resisted the assaults of Totila. Sicily was reduced by Artaban, and the Gothic navy was defeated near the coast of the Hadriatic.

On the death of Germanus, the command of the Roman armies were given to the eunuch Narses, whose fame has contributed to rescue that unhappy name from the contempt of mankind. In the palace, Narses had studied to dissemble, flatter, and to persuade ; and as soon as he approached the person of the emperor, Justinian listened with surprise and pleasure to the manly counsels of his chamberlain and treasurer. He led an army into Italy, acquired a practical knowledge of the war and the country, and twelve years after his return, the eunuch was chosen to atchieve the conquest which the first of Roman generals had left imperfect. The well-known liberality of Narses attracted the subjects and allies of the empire. The Lombards, the Heruli, the Huns, and the Persians, crowded to his banner ; the various army advanced along the sea shore, while the fleet preceded their march, and cast a bridge of boats over the mouths of the rivers, the Timavus, the Brenta, the Adige, and the Po, that fall into the Hadriatic to the north of
Ravenna.

Ravenna. From thence, after collecting the fragments of the Italian army, Narses proceeded to Rimini to meet the insulting enemy.

Totila, suspicious of the fidelity of his subjects, determined to risk the Gothic kingdom on a decisive battle. The two armies approached each other near Tagina. The haughty message of Narses was an offer, not of peace, but of pardon; the answer of the Gothic king declared his resolution to die or conquer. From his station on the right wing, the eunuch rode along the line, expressing by his countenance the assurance of victory, and exciting his men by exposing to their view gold chains and collars, the rewards of military virtue. At the distance of two bow shots, the armies spent the morning in dreadful suspense; Narses awaited the charge, and Totila delayed it till he had received his last succours of two thousand Goths. As soon as these arrived, the Gothic king retired to his tent, laid his rich armour aside for

A. D. 552.

that of a common soldier, and gave the signal of battle. The Gothic cavalry was astonished, pressed, and broken by the generous emulation of the Romans and their Barbarian allies; six thousand of the Goths fell on the field. Their Prince, with five attendants, was overtaken by Asbad, of the race of the Gepidæ. "Spare the king of Italy," cried a loyal voice, and
Asbad

Asbad struck his lance through the body of Totila. The blow was instantly revenged by the faithful Goths; they transported their dying monarch seven miles from the scene of action, and his last hours were not embittered by the presence of an enemy. His corpse satisfied the Romans of their victory, and his bloody robe was presented to Justinian by the messengers of triumph.

The victorious eunuch, after dismissing the Lombards, pursued his march through Tuscany, and encompassed with his host the walls of Rome. These could not long withstand his ardour, and Justinian once more received the keys of the ancient capital, which, under his reign, had been five times taken and recovered. But the flying Goths satiated their revenge by the massacre of three hundred noble youths, their hostages; the fortresses round Campania were stained with patrician blood; and the very existence of the Roman senate was extinguished by the implacable fury of the Barbarians.

The bravest of the Gothic nation retired beyond the Po, and unanimously chose Teias to succeed the gallant Totila. The new king sent ambassadors to purchase the aid of the Franks with the riches of Pavia. His brother Aligern, with the residue of the royal treasure, was besieged at Cumæ, in Campania, by the army of Narfes.

Narſes. Teias by rapid marches advanced to his relief. He eluded the vigilance of the Roman chiefs, pitched his camp on the banks of the Sarnus, and for fixty days maintained that important poſt. Deſerted by their fleet, and the hope of ſubſiſtence, the Goths embraced the generous reſolution to die in arms, and in the poſſeſſion of freedom; the king marched at their head; after a combat of many hours, in which he diſplayed an honourable but ineffectual valour, he was pierced by a mortal dart; but his fate ſerved only to animate his companions. During the night they repoſed on their arms, and renewed the combat with the dawn of day. The fatigues of a ſecond night, with the want of water, diſpoſed the ſurvivors to accept the alternative of Narſes; to reſide in Italy as the ſubjects of Juſtinian, or to depart with a portion of their private wealth in ſearch of ſome independent country; yet the capitulation was rejected by one thouſand Goths, who broke through their enemies, and effected their retreat to Pavia; and Aligern, with undaunted courage, defended Cumæ above a year; nor did he ſubmit to become the friend of Narſes, till the ſucceſs of a mine had buried his brave aſſociates in the ruins of the rock.

While the Romans ſucceſsfully preſſed the ſiege of Lucca, Italy was overwhelmed by a new

deluge of Barbarians. Theodebald, a feeble youth, the grandson of Clovis, reigned over the Franks; his guardians had entertained with coldness the promises of the Gothic ambassadors; but the martial people crowded to the standards of the two brothers, Lothaire and Buccelin, dukes of the Alemanni, and the leaders of the Italian war. Seventy-five thousand Germans descended from the Rhætian Alps into the plains of Milan; they surprised the negligent vanguard of the Roman army stationed near the Po; the troops were instantly routed, and their leader, Fulcaris, a bold Herulian, rejecting flight, declared that death was less terrible than the angry countenance of Narfes. The conqueror of Italy opened a free passage to the torrent; but two thousand Franks were destroyed by Narfes in person, who sallied from Rimini with three hundred horse to chastise the licentious rapine of their march. On the confines of Samnium the two brothers divided their forces; Buccelin assumed the spoil of Campania, Lucania, and Bruttium, while Lothaire plundered Apulia and Calabria; but the strength of their armies was soon wasted by disease, and the intemperance of the Germans avenged the miseries of the defenceless people.

In the spring Buccelin moved towards Capua, and encamped near the Volturnus. He impatiently expected the return of his brother Lothaire, who

who had retired beyond the Alps to secure his booty; but alas! that brother could never return; a strange disease had swept away the chief and his army, on the banks of the lake Benacus, between Trent and Verona. Narfes, at the head of eighteen thousand soldiers, soon approached the Vulturnus, and the eyes of Italy were anxiously fixed on this final contest. On the morning of the important day, a servant was killed by his master, one of the leaders of the Heruli. The justice of Narfes commanded the instant execution of the offender; the Heruli felt the indignity; they halted; but the Roman general, without soothing their rage, called aloud, that unless they hastened to occupy their place, they would lose the honour of the victory. The ranks of the Franks and Alemanni were already disordered by the fatal arrows of the Roman archers; and the Heruli preferring glory to revenge, charged in the decisive moment the head of the hostile column. Buccelin, and the greatest part of his army, perished on the field of battle, or in the waters of the Vulturnus; and in the procession of Narfes, Rome, for the last time, beheld the semblance of a triumph. That ancient capital was soon after degraded to the second rank, and the exarchs of Ravenna, as the representatives of the emperor, filled the throne of the Gothic kings.

The declining years of Belisarius were crowned by a last victory, which saved the emperor and the capital. In the thirty-second winter of Justinian's reign, Zabergan led the cavalry of the Bulgarians over the frozen Danube ; the savage chief spread his troops over Macedonia and

Thrace, and with seven thousand horse
A. D. 559. advanced towards Constantinople. The

walls which defended that territory had lately been shaken by an earthquake ; the forces of the empire were employed on the distant frontiers of Italy, Africa, and Persia ; Justinian trembled in his palace ; and a feeble veteran was the sole hope and dependance of the prince and people. The name of Belisarius roused the emulation of the old and young ; and at the head of ten thousand undisciplined citizens, his first encampment was in the presence of a victorious enemy. The Bulgarian cavalry advanced to the charge ; but they heard the shouts of multitudes ; they beheld the arms and discipline of the front ; two ambuscades from the woods assaulted their flanks ; their foremost warriors fell by the hands of the aged hero and his guards ; and Zabergan confessed the skill of a master, and withdrew to a respectful distance. The commands of Justinian forbade Belisarius to atchieve the destruction of the enemy ; and the departure of Zabergan was hastened

hastened by the report that vessels were built on the Danube to intercept his passage.

Two years afterwards, an indisposition of the emperor encouraged the growing discontent of his subjects. A dark conspiracy was detected, in which are recorded the

A. D. 561.

names of Marcellus and Sergius. The former withdrew himself by a voluntary death; but Sergius was dragged from a sanctuary, and tempted, perhaps, by the hopes of safety, accused two officers of the household of Belisarius. It will not be credited by posterity, that the hero who in the vigour of life had rejected the fairest offers of ambition, should in the extreme of age be induced to renounce his loyalty. The conqueror of Africa appeared before the council with less fear than indignation; but the emperor, after forty years service, had prejudged his guilt. His fortune was sequestered, and for several months he was guarded as a prisoner in his own palace. At length his innocence was acknowledged; and his death, hastened probably by indignation, about eight months afterwards, delivered him from the ingratitude of his master. Some portion of his treasures was allotted for the maintenance of Antonina, who devoted the remains of her life and fortune to the foundation of a convent. Such was the fate of Belisarius. That he was deprived of his eyes, and reduced to beg his bread, is a

fiction of later times, and apparently derived from the miscellaneous work of John Tzetzes, a monk of the twelfth century.

In eight months after the death of Belisarius, Justinian closed a reign of thirty-eight, and a life of eighty-three, years; and though his fame is eclipsed by the superior lustre of his general, yet the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. Even his enemies confess that he was chaste, temperate, vigilant, and studious. His design of the African and Italian wars, was boldly conceived and executed; and his penetration discovered the talents of Belisarius in the camp, and of Narfes in the palace. But the age in which he reigned was unfortunate; the people was oppressed and discontented; the avarice of Theodora, and of John of Cappadocia, sullied his virtues; and Justinian was neither beloved in his life, nor regretted at his death.

In the fifth year of his reign, a comet, which appeared in the western quarter of the heavens, excited the apprehensions of a superstitious people. Each year, during his administration, was marked by the repetition of earthquakes; and those of such duration, that Constantinople has been shaken above forty days; and of such extent, that the shock has been communicated to the whole surface of the Roman empire; and to the calamities

calamities produced by these concussions, is to be added a plague, which baffled the art of the physicians of Constantinople, and alternately languished and revived during a period of fifty-two years. So great was the devastation, that in many districts of Italy, the harvest and the vintage withered on the ground; and the subjects of Justinian were almost incessantly afflicted by the ravages of war, pestilence, and famine.

CHAPTER XXXI.

IDEA OF THE ROMAN JURISPRUDENCE—THE LAWS
OF THE KINGS—THE TWELVE TABLES OF THE
DECEMVIRS—THE LAWS OF THE PEOPLE—THE
DECREES OF THE SENATE—THE EDICTS OF
THE MAGISTRATES AND EMPERORS—AU-
THORITY OF THE CIVILIANS—CODE,
PANDECTS, NOVELS, AND INSTITUTES
OF JUSTINIAN—I. RIGHTS OF PER-
SONS—II. RIGHTS OF THINGS—
III. PRIVATE INJURIES AND AC-
TIONS—IV. CRIMES AND
PUNISHMENTS.

BY the care of Justinian, the civil jurisprudence was digested in the immortal works of the CODE, the PANDECTS, and the INSTITUTES; the domestic institutions of Europe acknowledge the public reason of the Romans, and the laws of Justinian still command the respect or obedience of independent nations. In this chapter will be traced the Roman jurisprudence from Romulus to

to Justinian ; the labours of that prince will be reviewed, and the principles of a science, so important to the peace and happiness of society, will be briefly considered.

The primitive government of Rome was composed of an elective king, a council of nobles, and a general assembly of the people. War and religion were administered by the supreme magistrate ; he alone proposed the laws, which were debated in the senate, and were afterwards ratified or rejected by a majority of votes in the thirty *curiæ*, or parishes of the city. The royal laws ascribed to successive monarchs became obsolete, when on the expulsion of Tarquin, the kingly office was abolished, and the patricians engrossed the benefits of freedom ; yet the institutions of the kings blended themselves with the public and private manners of the people, though the citizens of Rome complained they were ruled by the arbitrary sentence of the magistrates. The twelve tables of the Decemvirs were dictated by the rigid spirit of an aristocracy ; and whatever might be their merit, they obtained among the Romans that reverence which the lawyers of every country delight to bestow on their municipal institutions ; they were transcribed and illustrated with learned diligence ; subsisted in the age of Justinian ; and their subsequent loss has been imperfectly restored by the labours of modern critics. But although

though these tables were considered as the fountain of justice, they were overwhelmed by the weight of new laws, which, at the end of five centuries, became a grievance intolerable to the city.

The tables of the Decemvirs had been approved by an assembly of the centuries, in which riches preponderated against numbers. To the first class of Romans, the proprietors of one hundred thousand pounds of copper, ninety-eight votes were assigned; and only ninety-five were left for the six inferior classes; but the tribunes soon established a more popular maxim, that every citizen has an equal right to enact the laws, which he is bound to obey. Instead of the *centuries*, they convened the *tribes*; and the patricians submitted to the decrees of an assembly, in which their votes were confounded with those of the meanest plebeians. A subsequent regulation, by substituting the method of secret ballot, abolished the influence of fear and shame; even Augustus once experienced a sincere and strenuous opposition; and the example instructed his successor to extinguish the danger and existence of popular assemblies: the legislative authority was transferred from the people to the senate; and it must be acknowledged, that the decrees of that assembly, under the Cæsars, were seldom perverted by fear or interest.

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The ambiguity of laws was supplied by the occasional EDICTS of those magistrates, invested with the *honours* of the state. This ancient prerogative of the kings, was entrusted to the consuls and dictators, the censors and prætors. The supreme judge announced by the voice of the cryer, and afterwards inscribed, on a white wall, the rules which he proposed to follow in the decision of doubtful cases; and the relief which his equity would afford from the rigour of ancient statutes. A jurisdiction, thus vague and arbitrary, was exposed to the most dangerous abuse; and the policy of Hadrian accomplished the design which had been conceived by Cæsar. In the prætorship of Salvius Julian, an eminent lawyer, a PERPETUAL EDICT was composed, ratified by the emperor and the senate, and was fixed, instead of the twelve tables, as the invariable standard of civil jurisprudence.

During four centuries, from Hadrian to Justinian, the public and private jurisprudence was moulded by the will of the sovereign, whose royal mandates were distinguished by the name of *constitutions*. Though reason will suggest to the absolute master of a great empire, that the interest of society is inseparably connected with his own; yet in the *rescripts*, replies to the consultations of the magistrates, the wisest of princes might be deceived by a partial exposition of the

case. The *rescripts* of the emperor, his *grants* and *decrees*, his *edicts* and *pragmatic sanctions*, were subscribed in purple ink, and transmitted to the provinces as general laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute; but as their number multiplied, they became each day more obscure, till the will of the sovereign was ascertained in the Gregorian, the Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes; the two first were framed by private lawyers, to preserve the constitutions of the emperors from Hadrian to Constantine; the third was digested by the order of the younger Theodosius, and was continued down to his own accession; all three obtained an equal authority; and any act not included in the sacred deposit, might be disregarded by the judge as spurious.

The jurisprudence of the first Romans exhibited the scenes of a pantomime; the words were adapted to the gestures; and the slightest error in the *forms* of proceeding, was sufficient to annul the *substance* of the fairest claim. In a more enlightened age, these forms were derided, and a more liberal art was cultivated; and in the seventh century, Roman jurisprudence was improved by the alliance of Grecian philosophy. From the Stoics, the Roman civilians learned to live, to reason, and to die; but they imbibed, in some degree, the prejudices of the sect; the love of paradox, the habits of dispute, and
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a minute attachment to words and verbal distinctions.

Arms, eloquence, and the study of the civil law, promoted a citizen to the honours of the Roman state; and the three professions were sometimes united in the same character. Under the fair pretence of securing the dignity of the civil law, Augustus and Tiberius confined the privilege of subscribing legal opinions to the senatorian, or equestrian rank. This monopoly prevailed, till Hadrian restored the freedom of the profession to every citizen conscious of his abilities and knowledge: but the judges were frequently perplexed by the different opinions of the civilians; and Roman jurisprudence was divided by the once famous sects of the *Proculians* and *Sabinians*. By the perpetual edict, the controversies of these sects were in a great measure determined. For that important work, the emperor Hadrian preferred the chief of the *Sabinians*; but the moderation of *Salvius Julian* insensibly reconciled the discordant parties. The lawyers of the age of the Antonines disclaimed the authority of a master, and adopted, from every system, the most probable doctrines: but their numerous writings confused the judge, and every sentence was justified by the sanction of some venerable name.

When Justinian ascended the throne, the reformation

formation of the Roman jurisprudence was an arduous, but indispensable task. He selected the most learned civilians of the East to assist in the work; to their theory was added the practice of the advocates, and the experience of the magistrates; and the whole undertaking was animated by the spirit of the celebrated Tribonian, whose genius, like that of Bacon, embraced all the business and knowledge of the age; but whose virtues and abilities, like those of Bacon, were stained with the reproach of abject flattery and insatiate avarice.

In the first year of his reign, Justinian directed Tribonian, and his associates, to revise the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes; to retrench whatever was obsolete or superfluous, and to select the salutary laws best adapted to the practice of the tribunals, and the use of his subjects. In fourteen months this work was accomplished. The new *code* of Justinian was honoured with his name, confirmed by his royal signature, and was transmitted to the magistrates of the European, the Asiatic, and afterwards the African provinces. A more arduous operation was still behind; to extract the spirit of jurisprudence from the decisions and disputes of the Roman civilians. This task was assigned to seventeen lawyers, with Tribonian at their head; in three years, the *digests*, or *pandects*, were composed by
their

their rapid diligence; and three millions of sentences were reduced, in this abstract, to the moderate number of one hundred and fifty thousand. The edition of this great work was delayed a month after that of the *INSTITUTES*; and it seemed reasonable, that the elements should precede the digest of the Roman law. The emperor approved, and ratified the labours of these private citizens; the *code*, the *pandects*, and the *institutes*, were declared to be the legitimate system of civil jurisprudence; they alone were admitted in the tribunals; and they alone were taught in the academies of Rome and Constantinople.

Six years had not elapsed from the publication of the code, before Justinian condemned the imperfect attempt, by a new and more accurate edition of the same work; which he enriched with two hundred of his own laws, and fifty decisions of the most intricate points of jurisprudence. His long reign was marked by annual legal innovations. Many of his acts were rescinded by himself; many were rejected by his successors; many have been obliterated by time: but the number of sixteen *EDICTS*, and one hundred and sixty-eight *NOVELS*, has been admitted into the authentic body of the civil jurisprudence. In the opinion of Montesquieu, these incessant alterations can only be explained by the venal spirit

spirit of a prince, who sold his judgment and his laws; and the advocates of Justinian must confess, that such levity, even if he stands acquitted of corruption, is unworthy of the character of a legislator.

The INSTITUTES of Justinian were derived from those of Caius, who died before the end of the second century, and are divided into four books, still precious to the historian, the philosopher, and the magistrate. They proceed, with no contemptible method, I. *persons*, to II. *things*; and from things, to III. *actions*; and the article IV. of *private wrongs*, is terminated by the principles of *criminal law*.

I. The proud distinctions of the republic were gradually abolished in the decline of the Roman empire; and Justinian completed the simple form of an absolute monarchy. His laws regarded, as equal, all Roman citizens; and all subjects of the empire were citizens of Rome. The Cæsars had scrupulously guarded the distinctions of *ingenuous* and *servile* birth; and the slaves, who were liberated by a generous master, could never be enfranchised from the duties of obedience and gratitude. Their patron, and his family, inherited a third part of whatever they might acquire; and even the whole of their fortune, if they died without children and without testament. Justinian respected the right of patrons; but the
dignity

dignity of ingenuous birth was bestowed by the emperor; and whoever ceased to be a slave, obtained without delay the station of a citizen.

The Roman jurisprudence assigned to the father an exclusive, absolute, and perpetual dominion over his children. In the forum, the senate, and the camp, the adult son of a Roman citizen enjoyed the public and private rights of a *person*; in his father's house he was a mere *thing*, subject to the caprice, or injustice of his parent: but the paternal power was gradually limited from the accession of Numa; and the Roman father, in the reign of Augustus, was reduced from absolute dominion, to the moderation of a judge. In the reign of Severus Alexander, this jurisdiction was again curtailed; and the magistrates were enjoined to hear his complaints, and to execute his sentence. The justice of Constantine inflicted, on the parent who murdered his child, the pains of parricide; and the punishment was extended to him who exposed or abandoned his new-born infant. These murders were included by Valentinian, in the spirit of the Cornelian law; and the lessons of jurisprudence and christianity were enforced by the terrors of capital punishment.

The wife, by the ancient laws of Rome, was subject to her husband, who was invested with the plenitude of paternal power. He exercised

the jurisdiction of life and death; and it was allowed, that in the cases of adultery, or drunkenness, the sentence might be properly inflicted: but the matrons of Rome, after the Punic triumphs, aspired to, and obtained the benefits of a free and opulent republic. The degrading solemnities of the old nuptials were neglected; their persons were free, and their property was protected. To a loose and voluntary compact, which preserved the fortune of the wife, but in which religious rites were unnecessary, succeeded the dignity of marriage, restored by the Christians. The conscience of these was awed by the censures of their ecclesiastical rulers; but the emperor, in his code and pandects, consulted the unbelieving civilians; and his matrimonial laws are influenced by the earthly motives of justice, policy, and the natural freedom of both sexes.

When the Roman matrons became the voluntary companions of their lords, the laws allowed that marriage might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the parties. In three centuries of prosperity and corruption, this principle was enlarged to frequent practice and pernicious abuse. The gentle remedies of Augustus might moderate the violence of the disease, but the Christian princes were the first who specified the just causes of a private divorce; their institutions, from Constantine to Justinian, appear to fluctuate between

tween the custom of the empire, and the wishes of the church. Incurable impotence, long absence, and monastic profession, were allowed to rescind the matrimonial vow; and the successor of Justinian, yielding to the prayers of his unhappy subjects, restored the liberty of divorce by mutual consent.

The lawgivers of Rome inflexibly condemned the marriage of sisters and brothers; hesitated whether first cousins ought not also to be interdicted; and, according to the proud maxims of the republic, affirmed, that a legal union could only be contracted by free citizens. To a woman of servile, and plebeian extraction, the faithful companion of a Roman citizen, who continued in a state of celibacy, the name of concubine was appropriated. Her modest station, below the honours of a wife, above the infamy of a prostitute, was acknowledged and approved by the laws. The celebration of her nuptials, with the partner of her bed, would legitimate her children; these were capable of succeeding to the sixth part of the inheritance of their reputed father, and were distinguished by the epithet of *natural*, from the spurious brood of adultery, prostitution, and incest, to whom Justinian reluctantly grants the necessary support of life.

The relation of guardian and ward is of a very simple nature. If the deceased father had not

signified his choice for the orphan, the paternal kindred of the nearest degree were compelled to act as the natural guardians ; and the Roman jurisprudence pronounced, that the charge of tutelage should attend the emolument of succession ; the failure of consanguinity was supplied by the nomination of the prætor of the city, or the præfident of the province. Till the infant could speak and think, he was represented by the tutor, whose authority was finally determined by the age of puberty ; this had been fixed by the civilians at fourteen ; but in whatever regarded the fortune of the minor, the consent of the *curator* was necessary to give validity to his acts, till he accomplished the full period of twenty-five years.

The original right of property was established by the civilians on the merit of prior occupancy. According to the twelve tables, a prescription of one year for moveables, and two years for immoveables, abolished the claim of the ancient master, if the actual possessor had acquired them by a fair transaction from the person, whom he believed to be the lawful proprietor. This term was extended by Justinian to the various periods of three, ten, and twenty years. In the right of inheritance, the masculine and female lines of kindred were confounded. The descending, ascending, and collateral series was accurately defined ; and each degree, according to the proximity

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mity

mity of blood and affection, succeeded to the vacant possessions of a Roman citizen.

The order of succession was frequently violated by the arbitrary and partial *wills* of the testator. A parent might capriciously prefer a stranger, and disappoint his son of his inheritance. Examples of unnatural dispositions recommended some limitation of the testamentary powers. By the laws of Justinian, to disinherit a son, or daughter, it was necessary to specify the offence committed; and the justice of the emperor enumerated the sole causes that could justify such a violation of the first principles of nature and society. Unless a fourth had been reserved for the children, they had a right to institute an action; to complain that their father's understanding was impaired by sickness, or age; and to appeal, from his rigorous sentence, to the deliberate wisdom of the magistrate. But an essential distinction was admitted between the inheritance and the legacies. The heirs who succeeded to the entire, or to the twelfth fraction of the substance of a testator, fulfilled his obligations, and discharged the gifts, which his last will had bequeathed, under the name of legacies: but as the imprudence of a dying man might exhaust the inheritance, and only leave risk to his successor, he was empowered to retain the *falcidian* portion; to deduct, before the payment of the legacies, a clear fourth

for his own emolument. A reasonable time was allowed to examine between the debts and the estate; and if he used the benefit of an inventory, the demands of the creditors could not exceed the valuation of the effects.

III. The general duties of mankind are imposed by their public, or private relations; but their specific *obligations*, to each other, can only be the effect of, 1. a promise; 2. a benefit; or 3. an injury; and when the obligations are ratified by law, the interested party may compel the performance by a judicial *action*. On this principle, the civilians of every country have created a similar jurisprudence, the fair conclusion of universal reason and justice.

1. Among the Romans, according to the rigid maxims of the patricians and decemvirs, a promise, or even an oath, did not create any civil obligation, unless it was confirmed by the legal form of a stipulation; this was always expressed in the mode of a question and answer. Do you promise to pay me one hundred pieces of gold? was the solemn interrogation of Sius. I do promise, was the reply of Sempronius; and the friends of Sempronius, who answered for his inclination, or ability, might be separately sued at the option of Sius. The ingenuity of the civilians successfully laboured to convert simple engagements into the form of stipulations; and the
prætors,

prætors, as guardians of social faith, gave an action and remedy on the rational evidence of an equitable obligation.

2. A grateful return is due to the author of a benefit; and whoever is entrusted with the property of another, has bound himself to the sacred duty of restitution. The Roman words *commodatum* and *mutuum*, happily express what our language confounds, under the common appellation of a loan. In the former, the borrower was obliged to restore the individual thing which he had received for his temporary accommodation. In the latter, he substituted the specific value of what was destined for his use and consumption. In a *sale*, the absolute dominion is transferred to the purchaser, who repays the benefit by an adequate sum of gold or silver. By *location*, lands or houses, labours or talents, might be hired for a definite term; at the expiration of the time, the thing itself must be restored, with an additional reward, for the benefit arising from the occupation of it. Usury had been discouraged by the twelve tables; but it was tolerated by the discretion of the prætors, and finally determined by the code of Justinian. Persons of illustrious rank were confined to the profit of four per cent; six was fixed as the common interest; eight was allowed in merchandize; and twelve was granted to nautical insurance.

3. The sufferer by private injustice naturally claims the reparation of his injury, and acquires a right to a legitimate action. A Roman might recover his stolen goods by an action of theft; and a prescription of thirty years was required to extinguish his claim. The robber was condemned in double, treble, and quadruple damages, according to the mode of his detection. Hasty insults, which did not amount to the fracture of a limb, had been fixed by the decemvirs, at a trifling indiscriminate fine. But the prætors examined the nature of the injury; and the magistrates, in their decisions, considered the circumstances which might aggravate the sufferings of the injured person.

The various punishments of the Romans were severe, and even inhuman. Common crimes were chastised by flagellation and servitude, and nine were adjudged worthy of death. 1. Any act of treason against the state, or correspondence with the public enemy. 2. Nocturnal meetings in the city, for whatever purpose. 3. The murder of a citizen. 4. The malice of an incendiary, who himself was delivered to the flames. 5. Judicial perjury. 6. The corruption of a judge, who pronounced a venal and iniquitous sentence. 7. Libels and satires. 8. The nocturnal damage of a neighbour's corn. 9. Magical incantations. But the cruelty of the twelve tables

tables against insolvent debtors awakens our indignation; after thirty days grace, the Roman was delivered into the power of his fellow citizen; his food was twelve ounces of rice; he was bound with a chain of fifteen pounds weight; and at the end of sixty days, the debt was discharged by his slavery, or death. This criminal law was abolished by the Porcian and Valerian, which prohibited the magistrates from inflicting any capital, or even corporal punishment, on a free citizen; and immoderate rigour was followed by unlimited impunity.

A new system of criminal jurisprudence was introduced by the Cornelian, the Pompeian, and Julian laws. By the subsequent rescripts from the throne, capital punishments were revived; honourable persons were beheaded; meaner criminals were hanged, burnt, or exposed to the wild beasts of the theatre; armed robbers were pursued and extirpated; but simple theft was uniformly considered as a civil and private injury.

The free citizens of Rome enjoyed in all criminal cases the invaluable privilege of being tried by their country. The right of accusation was confined to the magistrates. A vote of the thirty-five tribes could inflict a fine; but the cognizance of capital crimes was reserved by a fundamental law to the assembly of the centuries. These popular

pular trials were commonly less formidable to innocence, than favourable to guilt. As the task of convening the citizens became, from their numbers, more difficult, the jurisdiction of the people was delegated to *inquisitors*. By these inquisitors the trial was prepared and directed; but they could only pronounce the sentence of a majority of the *judges*; who were annually selected, in equal numbers, from the most ancient and respectable of the senate, the equestrian order, and the people; they might amount to some thousands; in each particular cause, a sufficient number was drawn from the urn; their integrity was guarded by an oath; and the mode of ballot secured their independence. But before the age of Justinian, the Roman judges had sunk to an empty title, and criminal jurisdiction was administered by a single magistrate, who was raised and disgraced by the will of the emperor.

A Roman accused of any capital crime might prevent the sentence of the law by voluntary exile or death. The tyranny of the Cæsars deprived them of the first resource; and in the reign of Domitian, the voluntary death, which, in the case of a capital offence, intervened between the accusation and the sentence, was considered as a confession of guilt, and the spoils of the deceased were seized by the treasury. But the civilians restored to the citizen his former claims
over

over his own life; and acknowledged, that he who is resolved on destruction, may deride the powers of this world, and can only be restrained by the apprehension of a future state.

The penal statutes form but a small proportion of the code and pandect, and the emperor appears to have guarded the property of his subjects with more care than their persons. The civil jurisprudence, though abridged by Justinian, still continued a mysterious science and a profitable trade. The dilatory and costly proceedings increased the influence of the rich, and aggravated the miseries of the poor; the expence of the pursuit often exceeded the value of the prize, and the fairest rights were abandoned by the poverty or prudence of the claimants.

CHAPTER XXXII.

REIGN OF THE YOUNGER JUSTIN—EMBASSY OF THE
 AVARS—THEIR SETTLEMENT ON THE DANUBE—
 CONQUEST OF ITALY BY THE LOMBARDS—
 ADOPTION AND REIGN OF TIBERIUS—OF
 MAURICE—STATE OF ITALY UNDER THE
 LOMBARDS AND THE EXARCHS—OF RA-
 VENNA—DISTRESS OF ROME—CHARAC-
 TER AND PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY
 THE FIRST.

ON the death of Justinian, the succession of the empire menaced the repose of its subjects. Seven nephews of the childless monarch, the sons or grandsons of his brother and sister, had been educated with splendour, and might expect with equal hopes the inheritance of their uncle. At A. D. 565. the hour of midnight, Justin, the son
 Nov. 15. of Vigilantia, was awakened by the principal members of the senate; these welcome deputies announced the emperor's decease, and reported

reported his dying choice of Justin; that prince, by the advice of his wife Sophia, submitted to the authority of the senate. He was conducted with speed to the palace, invested with the imperial garments, and a fortunate youth, whom he instantly promoted to the rank of tribune, encircled his neck with a military collar. Four youths exalted him on a shield to receive the adoration of his subjects; and their choice was sanctified by the benediction of the patriarch, who placed the diadem on the head of an orthodox prince. In the speeches of Justin to the senate and people, he promised to correct the abuses of his predecessor, whose debts he immediately discharged with unexpected generosity; and the hopeless creditors accepted the equitable payment as a voluntary gift. His example was imitated by Sophia, whose liberality delivered many indigent citizens from the weight of debt and usury.

On the seventh day of his reign, Justin gave audience to the ambassadors of the Avars; and the scene was decorated to impress the Barbarians with astonishment, veneration, and terror. In the first emotions of their surprise, they prostrated themselves before the emperor; but as soon as they rose from the ground, Targetius, the chief of the embassy, extolled the greatness of the Chagan, by whose clemency the kingdoms of the south were permitted

A. D. 565.

to exist; he represented the liberality of Justinian, who had annually cultivated their friendship by costly gifts; and recommended to the nephew to imitate his uncle, and purchase peace from an invincible people who delighted in war. The reply of the emperor was delivered in a strain of haughty defiance. "The empire," said he, "abounds with men, horses, and arms, sufficient to defend our frontiers, and chastise the Barbarians. You offer aid; you threaten hostilities: we despise your enmity and your aid. The conquerors of the Avars solicit our alliance; shall we dread their fugitives and exiles? The bounty of our uncle was granted to your misery, to your humble prayers; from us you shall receive a more important obligation, the knowledge of your own weakness. Retire from our presence; the lives of ambassadors are safe; and if you return to implore our pardon, perhaps you will taste of our benevolence." The Chagan was awed by the apparent firmness of the Roman emperor; he marched into the countries of Germany which were subject to the Franks; after two doubtful battles, he consented to retire on receiving a supply of corn and cattle. Disappointment chilled the ardour of the Avars, and they probably would have dissolved away in the Sarmatian Desert, had they

they not been aroused by the arguments and alliance of Alboin, king of the Lombards.

Alboin, under his father's standard, had encountered and slain the rival prince of the Gepidæ; the Lombards requested that the youth might share the feast. "You are not ignorant," replied his father, the inflexible Audoin, "of the wise customs of our ancestors. Whatever may be his merit, a prince is incapable of sitting at table with his father, till he has received his arms from a foreign and royal hand." Alboin selected forty companions, and visited the court of Turisfund, king of the Gepidæ, who entertained with hospitality the murderer of his son. But he could not entirely dissemble the grief for his loss; and Cunimund, his surviving son, was provoked by fraternal affection to the desire of vengeance. "The Lombards," said the rude Barbarian, "resemble in figure and smell the mares of our Sarmatian plains." "Add another resemblance," replied an audacious Lombard, "you have felt how strongly they kick. Visit the plain of Asfeld, and seek for the bones of thy brother; they are mingled with those of the vilest animals." The Gepidæ started from their seats; but the tumult was appeased by the venerable interposition of Turisfund. The weeping monarch saved the life of his guest, and dismissed him with the solemn rites of investiture.

But the beauty of Rosamond, the daughter of Cunimund, had inflamed the desires of Alboin, who had succeeded to the throne of his father; the arts of persuasion were tried without success, and the impatient lover obtained the object of his passion by force and stratagem. The insult was resented; the Gepidæ were supported by a Roman army; the Lombards yielded to their united force; and Alboin, after having in vain offered marriage, reluctantly relinquished his beauteous prey.

The revenge of Alboin induced him to implore the formidable aid of the Chagan, who, after a protracted negociation, signified the ultimate price of his alliance. The Lombards were immediately to present him with a tythe of their cattle; their spoils and captives were to be equally divided; but the lands of the Gepidæ were to become the sole patrimony of the Avars. Justin, disgusted with the ingratitude and perfidy of the Gepidæ, resigned them to their fate. The despair of Cunimund, for Turisfund was no more, was active and dangerous; he rushed impatiently to encounter his implacable enemy; but the valour of the Gepidæ, and their monarch, secured them only an honourable death, and the skull of Cunimund was fashioned by the savage conqueror into the shape of a cup. The victorious confederates advanced without resistance;

ance; the terms of their agreement were faithfully executed; the empire of the Chagans was established in Dacia; the spoil was divided; and the fair Rosamond was persuaded by Alboin to accept the hand of her triumphant lover.

The ambition of the king of the Lombards was still unsatisfied; from the banks of the Danube, he turned his eyes to those of the Po and the Tyber; his subjects, as the confederates of Narfes, had already visited the plains of Italy; their success had kindled in the rising generation the flame of emulation and enterprise; this was fanned by the spirit and eloquence of Alboin; and no sooner had he erected his standard, than the native strength of the Lombards

was augmented by the adventurous youth of Germany and Scythia; the Bulgarians, Sarmatians, Bavarians, and Saxons, swelled the host of Alboin; and the Lombards resigned their lands to the Avars, on a solemn promise, that, if they failed in the conquest of Italy, they should be reinstated in their former possessions.

The abilities of Narfes might have defeated the designs of the aspiring Barbarians; but the virtues of the eunuch were stained with avarice; the provincials complained; Longinus, a new exarch, was appointed to succeed the conqueror of Italy, who by the insulting mandate of the empress Sophia was commanded “to leave to *men*

“ the exercise of arms, and return to his proper
“ station among the maidens of the palace, where
“ a distaff should be again placed in the hand of
“ the eunuch.” “ I will spin her such a thread
“ as she shall not easily unravel,” was the reply
of the indignant hero, who retired to Naples,
and invited the Lombards to chastise the ingrati-
tude of the prince and people; the danger of
the Romans rendered them sensible of the value
of their general; a reconciliation was endeavoured
and effected; but the death of Narfes prevented
him from repairing the error he had fatally com-
mitted. Longinus was ignorant of the state of
the army and province; and Italy, discontented
and distracted, had been desolated in the preced-
ing years by the ravages of pestilence and fa-
mine.

The adventurous Alboin descended from the
Julian Alps into the fruitful plains, on which his
success bestowed the new and permanent appel-
lation of LOMBARDY. In five months
A. D. 568. after his departure from Pannonia,
Milan was invested by his powers; the inhabi-
tants readily accepted a faithless capitulation.
From the Trentine hills to the gates of Ravenna
and Rome, the inland regions of Italy submitted
without a siege or battle; the ambitious Barba-
rian assumed the character of a lawful monarch;
and the helpless Longinus announced to the em-
peror

peror the irretrievable loss of his provinces and cities. Pavia alone resisted the arms of the invader, and during three years the Lombards were engaged in the tedious siege of that city. Famine at length compelled the garrison to surrender; but as Alboin, who had vowed to punish their obstinacy by a general massacre, entered the city, his horse stumbled and fell; the accident was improved by the piety of one of his attendants; the conqueror relented; the value of the city was enhanced by the difficulty of the conquest; and Pavia for several ages was respected as the capital of Italy.

Before Alboin could regulate his conquests, he fell a victim to female revenge. In the palace of Verona, at a feast of intemperance, he called for the skull of Cunimund, the horrid ornament of his table; after the cup of victory had been exhausted by the Lombard chiefs, "Fill it again with wine," said the inhuman conqueror; "carry this goblet to the queen, and request in my name that she would rejoice with her father." The indignant Rosamond obeyed; but she nourished from that moment an insatiate desire of vengeance; she had already prostituted her charms to Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer; she now imparted to him her intentions, and required his assistance. Helmichis communicated the conspiracy to Peredeus, one of the

bravest champions of the Lombards. Peredeus, rejected the crime, but promised to keep the secret; the queen, to engage the warrior in her guilt, supplied in the dark, the place of one of her female attendants who was beloved by the chief; and after the moment of transport, informed the astonished Peredeus, that his own death, or that of Alboin, must be the consequence of the treasonable adultery. In this alternative, he chose rather to become the accomplice, than the victim of Rosamond. Alboin, oppressed with wine, was betrayed by
A. D. 573. his faithless spouse; he was transfixed by the spears of his assassins; and the daughter of Cunimund satiated her enmity by the murder of her husband.

The triumph of Rosamond was of short duration; the menaced justice of the Lombard chiefs compelled her to abdicate the transient power she had assumed. With her infant daughter, the heiress of the Lombards, and her two lovers, she escaped to Ravenna. Longinus beheld with delight the charms of Rosamond; the widow of Alboin readily listened to the passion of the minister; and to deliver herself from a jealous lover, presented to Helmichis, as he issued from the bath, a baneful potion; the taste of the liquor convinced him that he was poisoned. He pointed his dagger to the breast of Rosamond, and compelled

pelled her to swallow the remainder of the deadly cup. Her daughter, with Peredeus, was embarked for Constantinople; and the free suffrage of the Lombards raised Clepho to the throne as the successor of Alboin. Before the end of eighteen months, Clepho was stabbed by a domestic; and during ten years, the minority of his son Autharis, Italy was divided by a ducal aristocracy of thirty tyrants.

The annals of the second Justin are marked with disgrace abroad, and misery at home; the Roman empire was afflicted by the loss of Italy, the desolation of Africa, and the conquests of the Persians. The capital and the provinces were exhausted by the venality of the magistrates, and the injustice of the governors. The sentiments of Justin were pure and benevolent; but his faculties were impaired by disease, and he was confined to his palace a stranger to the complaints of his people. His only son had died in his infancy; his daughter was married to Baduarius, the superintendant of the palace; and Justin was accustomed to behold with jealousy and hatred his brothers and cousins. This domestic animosity induced the emperor to seek a successor, not in his family, but in the republic. The artifices of Sophia determined him in favour of Tiberius, the faithful captain of his guards. The ceremony of his elevation was performed in the

A. D. 574. portico of the palace, in the presence of the patriarch and the senate. The speech of Justin, who collected his remaining strength of body and mind, was by the populace ascribed to the inspiration of the deity: after advising Tiberius to consult the experience rather than the example of his predecessor, and to respect the empress as his mother, he concluded with "Love the people like yourself; cultivate the affections, maintain the discipline of the army; protect the fortunes of the rich, and relieve the necessities of the poor." The assembly, in tears, applauded the counsels of their prince; and Justin, in the moment of his abdication, seemed worthy to reign. The four last years of his life were passed in tranquil obscurity, and his choice was justified by the reverence and gratitude of Tiberius.

The beauty of Tiberius had introduced him to the favour of Sophia; and the widow of Justin hoped to preserve her station and influence under the reign of a second, and more youthful husband; but her expectations were disappointed; and the clamours of the hippodrome for their new empress, compelled Tiberius to proclaim Anastasia, his secret but lawful wife. Imperial honours, a stately palace, and a numerous household, could not appease the resentment of Sophia. While she disguised her passions

sions in fair expressions of regard, she concluded a treaty with her ancient enemies ; and Justinian, the son of Germanus, was the instrument of her revenge. On the death of Justin, the youth, who was deservedly popular, had already been named by a tumultuous faction ; the magnanimity of Tiberius, instead of punishing, had entrusted him with the command of the eastern armies ; the Persian monarch fled before him ; and the acclamations which accompanied his triumph, had declared him worthy of the purple. Sophia chose the time when the emperor was absent in a rural retirement ; but his hasty return on the intelligence of her designs, dissipated her ambitious schemes. Her train was dismissed, her correspondence intercepted, and her person committed to the custody of a faithful guard. But the services of Justinian outweighed, in the mind of the excellent Tiberius, his treason and ingratitude ; the son of Germanus was forgiven, and it was commonly believed that the emperor entertained some thoughts of contracting a double alliance with the rival of his throne.

Tiberius had assumed the more popular appellation of Constantine. Humane, just, temperate, and brave, his subjects contemplated with pleasure the virtues of their sovereign. He alleviated the immediate distress of the people, by liberally remitting the arrears of taxes ; and his wise and

equitable laws excited the praise and regret of succeeding times. But the Romans of the East were not long to enjoy the blessings of his reign ; in less than four years after the death of Justin, he sunk into a mortal disease, which left him only sufficient time to bestow the diadem on the most deserving of his fellow-citizens. From the crowd he selected Maurice, to whom he resigned his daughter and his empire ; and expressed his hope that the virtues of his son and successor would erect the noblest mausoleum to his memory.

The parents of Maurice were settled at Arri-bissus, in Cappadocia, and survived to behold and partake of the fortune of their son. The youth of the emperor had been spent in arms ; his valour and conduct were signalized in the Persian A. D. 582. war ; he ascended the throne at the ^{602.} age of forty-three years, and reigned above twenty years over the East and over himself. Reason and virtue had subdued the warmth of his passions ; he was endowed with sense and courage to promote the happiness of his people ; and his administration was directed by the principles and example of Tiberius.

Rome, assailed by the Lombards, and afflicted by famine, had implored the assistance of Tiberius. Part of their distress was relieved by a supply of corn ; and to this was added the advice
of

of the emperor, either to bribe the Lombard chiefs, or to purchase the aid of the kings of France. This weak invention did not prevent Rome from being besieged again, and the suburb of Classe, only three miles from Ravenna, was pillaged and occupied by the troops of a duke of Spoleto. Maurice, moved by a deputation of priests and senators, adopted, with stronger effect, the measures of his predecessor. Some formidable chiefs were persuaded to embrace the friendship of Rome; the passes of the Alps were delivered to the Franks; and Childebert, the grandson of Clovis, was allured to invade Italy by the payment of fifty pieces of gold. The dukes of the Lombards, apprehensive of their powerful neighbours of Gaul, renounced their feeble and disorderly independence, and acknowledged the authority of Autharis, the son of Clepho, who had already obtained the strength and reputation of a warrior. Under their new king, they withstood three successive invasions; one of which was led by Childebert himself. The first expedition was defeated by the jealousy of the Franks and Alemanni; in the second they were vanquished in a bloody battle; and on their third return, Autharis was forced to yield to the accumulated numbers of their collected host. But the forces and the treasures of the Lombards were distributed in walled towns;

towns; the Franks were impatient of the delay of sieges; their bodies were infected with disease; and instead of conquering, their powers were employed in desolating the country. After having expected for six days the junction of the imperial forces, who were vainly engaged in the sieges of Modena and Parma, the Franks retired; and the victorious Autharis asserted his claim to the dominion of Italy.

That country, during a period of two hundred years, was unequally divided between the kingdom of the Lombards, and the exarchate of Ravenna. The full remains of civil, of military, and even of ecclesiastical power, were united in eighteen successive exarchs. Their immediate jurisdiction extended over the modern Romagna, the marshes of Ferrara and Commachio, five maritime cities from Rimini to Ancona, and a second, inland Pentapolis, between the Adriatic coast, and the hills of the Apennine. The supremacy of the exarch was acknowledged by the three subordinate provinces of Rome, of Venice, and of Naples; and the three islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, still adhered to the empire: but Naples soon acquired the privilege of electing her own dukes; the independence of Amalphi was the fruit of commerce; and Venice was finally ennobled by an equal alliance with the Eastern empire. The remainder of Italy was
possessed

possessed by the Lombards; and from Pavia, the royal seat, their kingdom was extended to the east, the north, and the west, as far as the confines of the Avars, the Bavarians, and the Franks of Aufrasia and Burgundy.

The dress of the ancient Lombards consisted of loose linen garments; their legs and feet were clothed in long hose and open sandals; and even in the tranquillity of peace, a sword was constantly girt to their side; their heads were shaven behind, but their hair before hung over their eyes and mouth, and a long beard represented the name and character of the nation. Yet this strange apparel, and horrid aspect, often concealed a gentle and generous disposition; and as soon as the rage of battle had subsided, the captives and subjects were frequently surprised by the humanity of the victor. The vices of the Lombards were the effects of passion, of ignorance, of intoxication; their virtues were the uncultivated spontaneous growth of nature.

Autharis, their monarch, sought, in marriage the daughter of Garibald, the king of Bavaria, who accepted the proffered alliance. The ardent lover visited the Bavarian court in the train of his own embassy; he informed Garibald, that the ambassador was indeed the minister of state, but he alone was the friend of Autharis. Theudelinda was summoned to the interview; and Au-

tharis, after regarding her charms with rapture, hailed her queen of Italy; and humbly requested she would present a cup of wine to the first of her new subjects. As he returned the cup, he secretly touched the hand of the princess, and drew his own finger over his face and lips. Theudelinda imparted to her nurse the indiscreet familiarity of the stranger; and was comforted by the assurance, that such boldness could only proceed from the king her lover. When the ambassadors were dismissed, and had reached the confines of Italy, Autharis, from his horse, darted his battle-axe against a tree with incomparable strength and dexterity. "Such, said he, to the astonished Bavarians, "such are the strokes of "the king of the Lombards." On the approach of a French army, Garibald, and his daughter, took refuge in the dominions of their ally; the marriage was consummated; the virtues of Theudelinda endeared her to the nation; and on the death of Autharis, she was permitted to bestow, with her hand, the sceptre of the Italian kingdom.

By the laws of the Lombards, such crimes as threatened the life of the sovereign, or the safety of the state, were adjudged worthy of death; the guilt of blood might be redeemed by a fine; but the high price of nine hundred pieces of gold, declares a just sense of the value of a simple ci-

tizen; a blow, or an opprobrious word, with a train of slighter injuries, were measured with scrupulous diligence. Peace, order, and domestic happiness, were gradually introduced; and under the succession of the Lombard kings, the Italians enjoyed a milder and more equitable government than any of the other kingdoms which had been founded on the ruins of the western empire.

Rome, about the close of the sixth century, had reached the lowest period of her depression. The sources of private and public opulence were exhausted; and the hostile approach of the Lombards was often felt, and continually feared. The distressed inhabitants opened, or shut, the gates with a trembling hand; they beheld from the walls the flames of their houses; and heard the lamentations of their brethren, who were dragged into distant slavery beyond the sea and the mountains. Curiosity and ambition no longer attracted the nations to the capital of the world: but if chance, or necessity, directed the steps of a wandering stranger, he contemplated, with horror, the vacancy and solitude of the city. The edifices of Rome were exposed to ruin and decay; the mouldering fabrics were easily overthrown by inundations, tempests, and earthquakes; and Rome, like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage, might have been erased from the earth, if the city

city had not been animated by a vital principle, which again restored her to honour and dominion.

A vague tradition was embraced, that two Jewish teachers, a tentmaker, and a fisherman, had formerly been executed in the Circus of Nero; and at the end of five hundred years, their relics were adored as the palladium of ancient Rome. The pilgrims of the East and West had resorted to the holy threshold; and the shrines of the apostles were guarded by miracles and invincible powers: but their virtues resided with living energy in the breasts of their successors; and the chair of St. Peter was filled, under the reign of Maurice, by the first, and greatest, of the name of Gregory.

The parents of Gregory were the noblest of the senate, and the most pious of the church of Rome. His birth and abilities had raised him to the office of præfect of the city, when he renounced his station, and dedicated his patrimony to the foundation of monasteries. His talents rendered him dear to the church; and from
A. D. 590. the exercise of monastic virtues, he was called by the unanimous voice of the clergy to the papal throne. The bishops of Italy, and the adjacent islands, acknowledged the Roman pontiff as their special metropolitan; and his successful claims on the provinces of Greece,
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of Spain, and of Gaul, might countenance the more lofty pretensions of succeeding popes. The misfortunes of Rome involved the apostolical pastor in the business of peace and war; if we may credit his own declarations, it would have been easy for him to have extirminated the Lombards by their domestic factions: but as a christian bishop, he preferred the salutary offices of peace; and disappointed of a general treaty, he presumed to save his country, without the consent of the emperor, or the exarch. His mild eloquence and seasonable gifts averted the sword of the Barbarians, suspended over Rome. His merits were treated by the Byzantine court with reproach and insult; but he found the best right of a sovereign, and the purest reward of a citizen, in the attachment of a grateful people.

 CHAPTER XXXIII.

REVOLUTIONS OF PERSIA AFTER THE DEATH OF
 CHOSROES, OR NUSHIRVAN—HIS SON HORMOUZ,
 A TYRANT, IS DEPOSED—USURPATION OF BAH-
 RAM—FLIGHT AND RESTORATION OF CHOS-
 ROES II.—HIS GRATITUDE TO THE ROMANS
 —THE CHAGAN OF THE AVARS—REVOLT
 OF THE ARMY AGAINST MAURICE—HIS
 DEATH—TYRANNY OF PHOCAS—ELE-
 VATION OF HERACLIUS—THE PER-
 SIAN WAR—CHOSROES SUBDUES
 SYRIA, EGYPT, AND ASIA MI-
 NOR—SIEGE OF CONSTANTI-
 NOPLE BY THE PERSIANS
 AND AVARS—PERSIAN
 EXPEDITIONS—VIC-
 TORIES AND TRI-
 UMPH OF HERA-
 CLIUS.

THE Greeks, for by that name the subjects of
 the eastern empire were now generally distin-
 guished, accuse their ancient enemies, the Per-
 fians,

flans, of violating the peace, which had been concluded about four years before the death of Justinian. Nushirvan aspired to reduce, under his obedience, the province of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, which had escaped the conquerors of the East. He chased the Abyssinians beyond the Red Sea, and restored to A. D. 570. the throne, as his vassal, a native prince of the ancient Homerites : but the successor of Justinian declared his resolution to avenge the injuries of his Christian ally, the prince of Abyssinia, as they suggested a decent pretence to discontinue the *tribute*, which was disguised under the name of pension. The churches of Persarmenia, oppressed by the magi, invoked the protector of the Christians ; and the rebels were supported as the brethren and subjects of the Roman emperor. The complaints of Nushirvan were disregarded by the Byzantine court ; an alliance was formed with the Turks ; and the Persian monarchy was menaced by the forces of Europe, of Æthiopia, and of Scythia. As soon as war became inevitable, Nushirvan, at the age of four-score, took the field with the alacrity A. D. 572. of youth, and conducted, in person, the siege of Dara. That fortress, protected by the valour of its inhabitants, resisted above five months the archers, the elephants, and the military engines of the great king. In the mean while his general,

ral, Adarman, passed the Euphrates, insulted the suburbs of Antioch, reduced to ashes Apamea, and returned with the spoils of Syria to his master, whose perseverance, in the midst of winter, at length subverted the bulwark of the East.

The success of the Persians astonished the provinces and court of the emperor, produced the abdication of Justin, and introduced a new spirit into the Byzantine councils. A truce of three years was obtained by the prudence of Tiberius. That interval was employed in the preparations of war; from Scythia, Mæsia, Pannonia, Illyricum, and Isauria, the strength of the imperial cavalry was reinforced with one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. The king of Persia resolved to prevent the attack of the enemy; without regarding the treaty, he again passed the Euphrates, and the two armies encountered each other in the battle of Melitene. A Scythian chief, who commanded the right wing of the Romans, turned the flank of the enemy, attacked the rear guard in the presence of Nushirvan himself, pillaged the royal tent, and cut his way through the Persian host to his applauding friends. The darkness of the night, and the separation of the Romans, afforded the Persian monarch an opportunity of revenge, and one of their camps was swept away by his impetuous assault: but the consciousness of his danger determined Nushirvan

van to a speedy retreat; he burnt the vacant town of Melitene; and, regardless of his troops, swam the Euphrates on the back of an elephant. The Romans were left masters of the field; and their general, Justinian, advanced to the relief of Perfarmentia, and erected his standard on the banks of the Araxes. On the return of spring, he descended into the plains of Assyria, and extended his devastations within sight of the palace of Nushirvan. The indignant monarch sunk beneath the disgrace; and his last edict restrained his successors from exposing their person in a battle against the Romans; who, amidst their triumphs, solicited again a short respite from the calamities of war.

A. D. 579.

The throne of Nushirvan was filled by his son, Hormouz, who, with the kingdoms of Persia and India, inherited the example of his father, a disciplined army, wise and valiant officers, and a system of administration regulated by time and political wisdom. His education had been formed by Buzurg, the Seneca of the East; and the sage, who had instructed the sovereign, consented, during three years, to direct the councils of the Persian empire; but when age, or labour, had impaired the strength of this prudent counsellor, he retired from court, and the youthful monarch was abandoned to his own passions, and those of his favourites. The ministers of flattery and corruption,

ruption, who had been banished by Nushirvan, were recalled by Hormouz; and the sage and virtuous friends of the father, were driven by the son into exile and disgrace. The provincial governors spread rapine and injustice through the provinces of Persia; the murmurs of the cities were despised; and the monarch was fond of declaring, that he alone would be the master of his kingdom. His avarice defrauded the troops; his jealous caprice degraded the satraps; the palace, the tribunals, the waters of the Tigris, were stained with the blood of the innocent; and the tyrant exulted in the sufferings and execution of thirteen thousand victims. Exasperated by long and hopeless oppression, the provinces of Babylon, Susa, and Carmania, erected the standard of revolt; and the princes of Arabia, India, and Scythia, refused the customary tribute to the unworthy son of Nushirvan. Mesopotamia and Assyria were afflicted by the frequent inroads of the Romans; and the imprudent Hormouz accepted the perfidious aid of the great khan, who passed the Oxus, at the head of four hundred thousand Turks. The march of these Barbarians towards the mountains of Hyrcania, revealed their correspondence with the Romans; and the junction of the two powers must have finally extinguished the sovereignty of the house of Sassan.

While Persia cast a look of despair on her surrounding

rounding enemies, a hero arose, whose virtues and fortunes preserved her A. D. 590. from ruin. Varanes, or Bahram, was descended from the ancient princes of Rei, and his valour had been signalized at the siege of Dara, under the eyes of Nushirvan. He was successively promoted by that monarch, and his son, to the command of armies, the government of Media, and the superintendence of the palace. He had the strength and stature of a giant, and his countenance was stern and savage. Amidst the general consternation of the king and his people, he alone was undaunted; and when he found that no more than twelve thousand soldiers could be prevailed on to march against the enemy, he prudently declared, that to this peculiar number heaven had reserved the honours of the triumph. He occupied the steep and narrow descent of the Hyrcanian rock, the only passage into the territory of Rei, and the plains of Media. His resolute followers, from the commanding heights, overwhelmed with darts and stones the myriads of the Turkish host; the khan and his son perished amidst the crowd; and the miserable fugitives were abandoned to the revenge of an injured people. The ardour of the Persians was kindled by the success of the victor, and the spoils of the hostile camp. The army of Bahram was swelled by the accession of numerous recruits, who were

impatient to share the precious fruits of conquest. The approach of a Roman army on the side of the Araxes, demanded the presence of Bahram; and he was now to encounter a new enemy, by their skill and discipline more formidable than a Scythian multitude. Elated with his recent success, he dispatched a defiance to the Romans, and requested them to fix a day of battle; and determine whether they would pass the river themselves, or allow a free passage to the arms of the great king. The lieutenant of Maurice preferred the latter alternative; and the temerity of Bahram was chastised by a total and bloody defeat. The malicious mind of Hormouz was less affected with the sufferings of his subjects, than gratified by the disgrace of his general. Bahram had scarce collected his scattered forces, before he received, from a royal messenger, the insulting gift of a distaff, a spinning wheel, and a suit of female apparel. His indignant soldiers resented the ignominious treatment of their leader; a shout of rebellion ran through the ranks; the messengers and adherents of Hormouz were sacrificed to the public fury; the Persians were exhorted to assert their freedom; the troops crowded to the standard of Bahram; and the provinces saluted the deliverer of his country.

Hormouz, sensible of the discontents of his subjects, but ignorant of the number of his enemies,

mies, displayed, in the city of Modain, the ensigns of royalty. His cruelty had cast into a dungeon, Bindoes, a Sassanian prince; the fetters of the captive were broken by the zeal of his brother; at the head of the revolted guard he seized the palace, and dragged the astonished Hormouz from a throne to a prison. Chosroes, the eldest of the sons of Hormouz, had escaped amidst the tumults from the city; he was persuaded to return by Bindoes, who promised to seat him on the throne, and expected, to reign under the name of an inexperienced youth. For Hormouz, was instituted a public trial, without a precedent, and without a copy in the annals of the East. The son of Nushirvan pleaded his cause in the full assembly of the nobles. As long as he expatiated on his own sufferings, he was heard with respect and even compassion; but when he attempted to asperse the character of Chosroes, and offered to resign the sceptre to his second son, a cry of indignation was heard through the assembly; and his imprudent partiality subscribed his own condemnation, and sacrificed the life of his favourite. The eyes of Hormouz were pierced with a hot needle; but the piety of Chosroes endeavoured to alleviate the misery of his father; he removed him to an apartment of the palace, supplied him with every sensual enjoy-

ment, and patiently endured the furious sallies of his resentment.

Bahram, at the head of a formidable army, denied the justice of a revolution, in which himself and his soldiers had never been consulted. In answer to a general amnesty offered by Chosroes, he commanded the son of Hormouz to shun the example and fate of his father; to confine the traitors whom he had released; to resign the diadem which he had usurped, and to accept a pardon, and the government of a province. The feeble army which Chosroes led into the field was soon defeated and dispersed by the veterans of Bahram; the monarch was reduced to implore aid or protection in some foreign land; and Bindoes hastily returned to the palace, to establish, by the death of Hormouz, an unquestionable title to the throne.

The friendship and support of the Romans was preferred by Chosroes on account of the neighbourhood of Syria, which rendered his escape more easy, and their succours more effectual. Attended only by his concubines, and a troop of thirty guards, he followed the banks of the Euphrates, traversed the deserts, and was admitted by the Roman præfect, who commanded, into the fortress of Circesium; from thence he was conducted to Hierapolis; and his anxiety was
soon

soon relieved by an assurance from the emperor Maurice, that he had espoused the cause of justice and royalty. A rich diadem was presented to the fugitive prince; a powerful army was assembled on the frontiers of Syria and Armenia; and the command of it, at the desire of Chosroes, was entrusted to Narses, an imperial general of approved ability, and who was born a subject of Persia. The troops passed the Tigris, and Maurice avowed his resolution never to sheath the sword till he had restored the son of Hormouz. Persia was already distracted by tumults and insurrection; the usurpation of Bahram was opposed by the magi, who refused to consecrate the daring rebel; the nobility and people crowded to the standard of Chosroes; Medain surrendered on the first summons; and the fate of Bahram was decided by two battles on the banks of the Zab, and the confines of Media. With the remnant of a broken army, he fled towards the Oxus; the enmity of Persia reconciled him to the Turks; but his retreat was embittered by the remembrance of past glory, and his days were shortened by poison; yet the Persians still revere the fame of his exploits, and some excellent laws were enacted during his transient and turbulent reign.

A general pardon might have diffused comfort and tranquillity through the provinces of Persia;
but

but Chosroes punished with impartial and impolitic severity, the revolt of Bahram, and the conspiracy of the satraps. The merits of Bindoes were confounded in the guilt of royal blood; and Chosroes, by a guard of a thousand Romans, long proclaimed his confidence in the fidelity of strangers. His growing strength enabled him to dismiss this unpopular aid; but he still continued to profess his gratitude and reverence to Maurice; the alliance of the two empires was faithfully maintained during the life of that emperor; and the assistance of the Romans was repaid by the restoration of the cities of Martyropolis and Dara, and the cession of a territory as far as the banks of the Araxes, and the neighbourhood of the Caspian.

In Europe, by the departure of the Lombards, and the ruin of the Gepidæ, the dominion of the Avars was extended from the foot of the Alps to the sea-coast of the Euxine. Baian, their chagan, occupied the rustic palace of Attila, and appears to have imitated his policy. During the successive reigns of the second Justin, of Tiberius, and of Maurice, the pride of the empire was wounded by the insolence of a haughty Barbarian, who insulted the envoys of the Byzantine court, and claimed unbounded licence for his own ambassadors at Constantinople. He extorted a regular supply of apparel, furniture, and plate,
of

of pepper and cinnamon; his annual subsidy was raised from fourscore to twenty thousand pieces of gold; and each hostile interruption supplied him with the pretence for new exactions in the payment of arrears, and the claims of interest. He asserted his right, as the successor of the Lombards, to the important city of Sirmium; the garrison of Singidunum, which commands the conflux of the Danube and the Save, might have resisted his progress; but their apprehensions were dispelled by a solemn oath that his designs were not hostile to the empire. “If I violate my oath,” said the intrepid Baian, “may I myself, and the last of my nation, perish by the sword! may the heavens, the fire, and the deity of the heavens, fall upon our heads! may the forests and mountains bury us in their ruins! and the Save returning, against the laws of nature, to his source, overwhelm us in his angry waves.” After this imprecation, he calmly enquired what oath was most sacred among the Christians; the bishop of Singidunum presented the gospel, which the chagan received with devout reverence. “I swear,” said he, “by the God who has spoken in this holy book, that I have neither falsehood on my tongue, nor treachery in my heart.” He was permitted to pass the river, and he immediately proclaimed, by an envoy, what he no longer wished to conceal.

conceal. "Inform the emperor," said he, "that Sirmium is invested on every side. Advise his prudence to withdraw the citizens and their effects, and to resign a city which it is now impossible to relieve or defend." The defence of Sirmium was however prolonged above three years, and the lives of the inhabitants were preserved in a capitulation which famine compelled them to accept; from Sirmium to Constantinople, a line of six hundred miles, the country was ravaged by the arms of the Avars; Hungary, Poland, and Prussia, from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Oder, were added to the empire of the chagan, and his new subjects were divided and transplanted by the jealous policy of the conqueror.

The conclusion of the Persian war determined the emperor to march in person against the chagan; but he had scarce advanced a short distance from Constantinople, before his mind was confounded by a variety of ill-boding omens;

insensible to his former fame, he returned to his capital, and committed the command of the army to his brother Peter, whose cowardice was found equal to his arrogance and injustice; the subsequent appointment of Comneniolus wounds still more deeply the judgment of Maurice; his colleague Priscus obtained indeed several splendid though transient
advan-

advantages over the Barbarians ; but that general was soon recalled by the apprehensions that Baian was preparing to avenge his defeat under the walls of Constantinople.

During the reign of Maurice, the camps both of Asia and Europe had been agitated by frequent and furious seditions ; and the mildness and indulgence of the emperor, served only to discover to the soldiers his weakness and their own strength. The army beyond the Danube had been commanded to establish their winter quarters in the hostile country of the Avars ; their private murmurs were soon converted into open rage ; they pronounced Maurice unfit to reign ; and under the command of Phocas, a simple centurion, they returned by hasty marches into the neighbourhood of Constantinople.

Maurice might still have avoided the impending danger, could he have depended on the fidelity of the capital ; but his rigid and parsimonious virtues had long alienated the hearts of the inhabitants. He dreaded the popularity of Germanus, whose daughter his eldest son Theodosius had married. In a nocturnal tumult, the lawless city was abandoned to every species of rapine and licentiousness. The unfortunate Maurice, with his wife and nine children, in a small boat escaped to the church of St. Autonomus, near Chalcedon, and from thence urged his son Theodosius

odofius to implore the gratitude and friendship of the Persian monarch. On his abdication, Constantinople opened her gates to Phocas, who after affecting to offer the purple to Germanus, entered the city amidst the acclamations of a thoughtless people. His jealousy or cruelty soon dispatched the ministers of death to Chalcedon; they dragged the emperor from his sanctuary; murdered his five sons before his face, while the parent at each stroke found strength to rehearse the pious ejaculation, "Thou art just, O Lord, and thy judgments are righteous." His rigid attachment to justice revealed even the generous falsehood of a nurse, who presented her own child in the place of a royal infant. The tragic scene was closed by the execution of the emperor himself, in the twentieth year of his reign, and the sixty-third of his age.

The flight of Theodosius to the Persian court, had been intercepted by a rapid pursuit, and the young prince was, by order of the tyrant, beheaded at Nice. But his death did not secure the repose of the usurper. A whisper was circulated that the son of Maurice was still alive. The discretion of Phocas had induced him to spare the wife and daughters of the late emperor; and the spirit of Constantina, mindful of her husband and her sons, aspired to freedom and revenge. In her first attempt to arouse the people, her
life

life was preserved at the intercession of the patriarch. Her second conspiracy proved fatal to herself and her three innocent daughters, who were beheaded at Chalcedon, after the empress had endured the pain and disgrace of public torture. A train of meaner victims were sacrificed to the fears and suspicions of the tyrant; some expired under the lash, others in the flames; others were again transfixed with arrows; and a simple and speedy death was mercy which they could rarely obtain.

The only child of Phocas had been given in marriage to the patrician Crispus; and the images of the bridegroom were indiscreetly placed in the circus by the side of the emperor. The monarch was offended by the premature association, and Crispus might reasonably doubt whether he could forget the involuntary competition. Every province of the empire was ripe for rebellion; and the emissaries of Crispus solicited Heraclius, exarch of Africa, who above two years had refused all obedience to the usurper, to save and govern his country. But the spirit of Heraclius was chilled by age, and he resigned the enterprize to his son Heraclius, and to Nicetas, the son of Gregory, his friend and lieutenant. These adventurous youths agreed, that the one should lead the army, and the other navigate the fleet from Carthage to Constantinople; and that the imperial

imperial purple should be the reward of diligence and success. The ships of Heraclius steered their triumphant course through the Propontis. The people, and even the guards, were determined by the well-timed defection of Crispus; the tyrant was seized, loaded with chains, and transported in a small boat aboard the galley of Heraclius, who reproached him with his crimes. "Wilt thou govern better?" were the last words of Phocas. After suffering each variety of insult and torture, his head was separated from his body, and the trunk was cast into the flames.

Heraclius ascended the throne with the voice
A. D. 610. of the clergy, the senate, and the people; and was invested with the purple before the tedious march of Nicetas was accomplished, who submitted without a murmur to the fortune of his friend. His attachment was rewarded with an equestrian statue, and a daughter of the emperor; the services of Crispus had been recompensed with the Cappadocian army; but his arrogance justly provoked the new emperor, who compelled him to embrace a monastic life; with the observation, that the man who had betrayed his father, could never be faithful to his friend.

Chosroes had received with horror and indignation the intelligence of the fate of Maurice; he disclaimed all connection with the usurper,
and

and declared himself the avenger of his friend and benefactor. For the crimes of an ambitious centurion, the Roman nation was chastised with the calamities of war. Under the reign of Phocas, the fortifications of Merdin, Dara, Amida, and Edeffa, were successively besieged, reduced, and destroyed by the Persian monarch. He passed the Euphrates, occupied the Syrian cities Hierapolis, Chalcis, and Berrhæa, and encompassed the walls of Antioch with his irresistible host. An impostor, who attended the camp of Chosroes as the son of Maurice, and the lawful heir of the Roman monarchy, afforded a decent apology for the submission of the subjects of the empire.

The first intelligence which Heraclius received from the East, was the loss of Antioch; Cæsarea, the capital of Cappadocia, next yielded to the Persians; the vale of Damascus was deluged by their innumerable forces; and, after a short repose, the conquest of Jerusalem was meditated and atchieved by the son of Hormouz; Egypt itself, which had been exempt from war since the time of Diocletian, was again subdued by the successor of Cyrus; another army in the same campaign advanced from the Euphrates to the Thracian Bosphorus. Chalcedon surrendered;

A. D. 611.

A. D. 614.

A. D. 616.

and a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople. But the provinces which had been fashioned to the Roman government, supported with reluctance the yoke of the Barbarians; and the Persian conqueror, conscious of their fear and hatred, governed his new subjects with an iron sceptre, and transported to his hereditary realms the gold and the silver, the arts and the artists of the Asiatic cities. While he contemplated with pleasure his wealth and power, he received an epistle from an obscure citizen of Mecca, inviting him to acknowledge Mahomet as the apostle of God. He rejected the invitation, and tore the epistle. "It is thus," exclaimed the Arabian prophet, "that God will tear the kingdom, and reject the supplications of Chosroes." The prediction, though pronounced amidst the Persian triumphs, was accomplished by the subsequent victories of the Romans.

If the invasion of Chosroes had been undertaken from motives of gratitude to Maurice, his hostile measures ought to have terminated with the life of Phocas; but the prosecution of the war revealed the true character of the Barbarian; and while his arms subdued Syria, Egypt, and the provinces of Asia, Europe, from the confines of Istria to the long wall of Thrace, was ravaged by the ferocious Avars. The Roman empire was

was reduced to the walls of Constantinople, with the remnant of Greece, Italy, and Africa, and some maritime cities, from Tyre to Trebizond, of the Asiatic coast. Heraclius himself, hopeless of relief, was diverted by the patriarch from the design of transferring his person and government to Carthage. At the altar of St. Sophia, the emperor bound himself by a solemn oath to live and die with the people whom God had entrusted to his care. The chagan, encamped in the plains of Thrace, had solicited an interview with Heraclius near the town of Heracleia; on a sudden, while their reconciliation was celebrated with equestrian games, the hippodrome was encompassed by the Scythian cavalry; the emperor was saved by the fleetness of his horse, and the Avars in their rapid pursuit almost entered Constantinople with the flying crowds. But in a more safe conference on the shores of Chalcedon, Sain, the Persian general, saluted with reverence and pity the majesty of the purple, and engaged to conduct a suppliant embassy to the presence of the great king. But the lieutenant of Chosroes was soon convinced that he had fatally mistaken his master's intentions. "It was not an embassy," said the tyrant of Asia, "it was the person of Heraclius bound in chains that he should have brought to the foot of my throne. I will never give peace to the em-

“ peror of Rome, till he has abjured his cruci-
“ fied God, and embraced the worship of the
“ sun.” The unfortunate Sain was sacrificed to
the anger of the Persian monarch, who violated
the law of nations by confining the ambassadors.
Yet Chosroes was persuaded to renounce at length
the conquest of Constantinople, and a thousand
talents of gold, a thousand talents of silver, a
thousand silk robes, a thousand horses, and a
thousand virgins, were specified as the annual
tribute of the Roman empire.

The interval allowed for collecting the treasures, was diligently employed by Heraclius in preparations of war; but the exhausted state of the provinces compelled him to borrow the consecrated wealth of the churches, under the solemn vow of restoring, with usury, whatever he had been reduced to expend in the service of religion and the empire. The stroke of time, and of the Barbarians, had exterminated the veterans who had supported the cause of Phocas, and the new levies of Heraclius were allured by the holy gold from every country of the east and west. Two hundred thousand pieces of gold were devoted to conciliate the friendship, or suspend the hostilities of the chagan; and two days after the festival of Easter, the emperor assumed the garb of a warrior, and gave the signal of his departure. To the discretion of the patriarch and senate, he entrusted

trusted the power to save or surrender the city, if they should be assailed in his absence by the superior forces of the enemy.

Had Heraclius rashly encountered with his undisciplined army the Persian host, encamped on the heights of Chalcedon, the victory of the enemy must probably have been the last day of the Roman empire. And it would have been equally imprudent for him to have advanced

into Asia, and left their numerous cavalry to intercept his convoys, and hang upon his rear. But the Greeks were still masters of the sea; a fleet of galleys and transports were assembled, and, after a tempestuous voyage, Heraclius landed his troops on the confines of Syria and Cilicia. His camp was pitched near Issus, on the same ground where Alexander had vanquished the host of Darius. The patience of the emperor was severely exercised in restoring the discipline and exercises of his soldiers; whatever hardships he imposed on his troops, he inflicted with honourable impartiality on himself; and the Romans were taught, without despising the enemy, to repose an implicit confidence in their own valour, and the wisdom of their leader.

The Persian troops, who had advanced towards Cilicia, were compelled by the artful evolutions of Heraclius to hazard a general engagement; and the event of the day declared to the world

that they were no longer invincible. Animated by fame and victory, Heraclius directed his march through the plains of Cappadocia, and established the winter quarters of his army on the banks of the river Halys; but the restless and rapacious spirit of the Avars induced the emperor himself to repair to Constantinople.

As soon as he had soothed the turbulent temper of the Scythian Barbarians, Heraclius, leaving the Persians to insult for a while
A. D. 623. his capital, sailed with a select band of five thousand soldiers, and landed at Trebizond. The natives of Armenia readily embraced the support of the Christian champion; a bridge was thrown over the Araxes, and Heraclius, in the footsteps of Mark Antony, advanced towards the city of Tauris, the capital of one of the provinces of Media. Chosroes in person retired at the approach of the Roman emperor, and declined the generous alternative of peace or battle. The conquests of Heraclius were only suspended by the winter season; prudence determined his retreat into the province of Albania, and his tents were probably pitched in the plains of Mogan, the favourite encampment of the Oriental princes.

From the plains of Albania, the emperor appears to have followed the chain of the Hyrcanian mountains; to have descended into the province of Media; and to have carried his victorious

arms

arms as far as the cities of Casbin and Ispahan. The powers of Chosroes were recalled from the Nile and Bosphorus; the camp of the Romans was surrounded; and the bravest veterans confessed their fears at the presence of three formidable armies. "Be not terrified," said the intrepid Heraclius, "by the multitude of your
"foes; with the aid of heaven, one Roman
"may triumph over a thousand Barbarians; but
"if we devote our lives for the salvation of our
"brethren, we shall obtain the crown
"of martyrdom, and our immortal A. D. 624.
"reward will be liberally paid by God and posterity." These magnanimous sentiments were supported by the vigour of his actions; he repelled the attacks of the Persians, and chased them from the field into the fortified cities of Media and Assyria. In the midst of the winter, Salban was surprised by the activity of Heraclius. Sarbaraza, the general, escaped by a precipitate flight; but the satraps of Persia, with their wives, and the flower of their martial youth, were either slain or made prisoners.

On the return of spring, Heraclius traversed the mountains of Curdistan, and passed, without resistance, the rapid stream of the Tigris. Constantinople had already A. D. 625.
felt his success by the retreat of the besiegers; the senate were now informed that the Roman army, laden with spoils, halted under the walls

of Amida. The bridges of the Euphrates were destroyed by the Persians ; but as soon as Heraclius had discovered a ford, they retired behind the Sarus. The impetuous course of that river, the banks lined with Barbarians, ineffectually opposed the progress of the emperor ; a gigantic Persian was slain by the hand of Heraclius himself ; the victorious prince pursued his march to Sebaste, in Cappadocia ; and concluded, by his return to the coast of the Euxine, a triumphant expedition of three years.

The resources of Chosroes were not yet exhausted, or his ambition extinguished by the victories of Heraclius. An army of fifty thousand men, illustrious by the ornament and title of *golden spears*, was destined to march against the Roman emperor ; a second was stationed to prevent his junction with the troops of his brother Theodore ; and a third, under the command of Sarbar, was directed to besiege Constantinople, and to second the operations of the chagan, with whom Chosroes had concluded a treaty of partition. Sarbar had occupied the well-known camp of Chalcedon, and waited the arrival of his Scythian allies ; on the twenty-ninth of A. D. 626.

June, the chagan advanced at the head of an innumerable host, and, after a month spent in fruitless negotiations, on the thirty-first of July the whole city was invested. The magistrates

gistrates of Constantinople in vain attempted to purchase the retreat of the chagan; he insulted " their deputies, and seated the Persian envoys by the side of his throne. " You see" said the haughty Barbarian to the patricians who stood before him, " the proofs of my perfect union " with the great king; and his lieutenant is ready " to send into my camp a select band of three " thousand warriors. Presume no longer to " tempt your master with a partial and inadequate ransom: your wealth and your city are " the only presents worthy of my acceptance. " For yourselves, I shall permit you to depart, " each with an under garment and a shirt; and, " at my intreaty, my friend Sarbar will not refuse " a passage through his lines. Your absent " prince, even now a captive or a fugitive, has " left Constantinople to its fate; nor can you " escape the arms of the Avars and the Persians, " unless you could soar into the air like birds; " unless like fishes you could dive into the " waves." But the inhabitants of Constantinople were animated by a reinforcement of twelve thousand cuirassiers, sent by Heraclius. The Persians were prevented from crossing the Bosphorus by a fleet of gallies; the Avars were repulsed; and the chagan, his allies discontented, and his provisions exhausted, was compelled reluctantly to give the signal of retreat.

Heraclius,

Heraclius, after the detachment he had embarked for Constantinople, had maintained a defensive war on the banks of the Phasis. The deliverance of the capital, and a victory of his brother Theodorus, dispelled his anxiety. To the hostilities of the Avars, he opposed an honourable alliance with the Turks. The hord of Chozars quitted the plains of Volga, for the mountains of Georgia. Near Teflis, Heraclius received their prince Ziebel, whom he saluted with the appellation of son; and flattered with the promise of a fair and *august* bride in his daughter Eudocia. In return, he obtained an immediate succour of forty thousand horse, and negotiated a strong diversion of the Turkish arms on the side of the Oxus. Sarbar still maintained his station of Chalcedon; but the jealousy of Chosroes dispatched a mandate to the second in command, to send the head of the obnoxious general; the dispatches were delivered to Sarbar himself, who, after inserting the names of four hundred officers, read them in council, and the Persians declared that Chosroes was unworthy the sceptre. A treaty was immediately concluded with Constantinople; and though Sarbar declined joining the standard of the empire, yet he allowed Heraclius to pursue his designs without interruption.

The march of the Romans towards the Tigris,
was

was still attended by a formidable host of Persians, commanded by Rhazates. The caution of this general was superceded by the peremptory command of Chosroes, to risk the fate of Persia in a decisive battle. The space, once covered by the city of Nineveh, afforded a field for the operations of the hostile armies. In that memorable contest, the valour of Heraclius surpassed that of his bravest warriors. Three gallant chiefs were slain by his sword, or lance; among these was Rhazates himself: and the sight of his head scattered despair through the fainting ranks of the Persians. Yet the soldiers of Chosroes maintained their ground from day-break to the eleventh hour; and the Persian cavalry relinquished not the field till the seventh hour of night, when, after pillaging their camp, they dispersed, rather for want of orders than of resolution. The diligence of Heraclius, in twenty-four hours after his victory, occupied the bridges of the great and lesser Zab; and his irresistible arms soon penetrated to Dastagerd, a royal seat, which Chosroes had ornamented with the spoils of his transient conquests; and the treasures of which exceeded the hopes, and satiated the avarice of the triumphant Romans.

A. D. 627.
December 1.

Chosroes, instead of encountering his rival in person in the plains of Nineveh, had, at a secure distance, expected the event; and collected the scattered

scattered relics of the defeat. It was still the opinion of his friends and foes, that he would bury himself in the ruins of his much-loved Dastagerd: but the son of Hormouz resigned his city and palace to the enemy, and
A. D. 627. Dec. 29. escaped nine days before the arrival of the Romans, with Sira, his best beloved wife, and three of his concubines. He entered with joy the fortifications of Ctesiphon; yet he still doubted of his safety, till he had opposed the river Tigris to the pursuit of the Romans. Amidst his triumphs, Heraclius continued to press his offers of peace; but the Persian monarch derived a temporary confidence from the retreat of the emperor, and disregarded too long the rising murmurs of a nation, who complained that their lives and fortunes were sacrificed to the obstinacy of an old man. Conscious of his approaching end, the aged king wished to fix his sceptre in the hand of Merdaza, the most favoured of his sons: but Siroes, his eldest born, who gloried in the merit of his mother Sira, had already conspired with the discontented nobles. Twenty-two satraps were tempted by the wealth and honours of a new reign; Siroes, with the assumed ensigns of royalty, appeared in the camp, and was saluted with the unanimous acclamations of the soldiers. The flight of Chosroes was intercepted; and the Greeks and modern

modern Persians have more minutely, than credibly, related how the unhappy monarch was tortured and famished by his inhuman son. That son enjoyed the fruit of his crimes only eight months; in the space of four years the regal title was assumed by nine candidates, who disputed with the sword the fragments of the exhausted monarchy; and a state of anarchy prevailed throughout Persia, till her provinces, in about eight years, were reduced under the common yoke of the Arabian caliphs.

The welcome intelligence of the death of Chosroes, and the elevation of Siroes, soon reached the triumphant camp of the emperor; the ambassadors of the new monarch ratified, with the Romans, a treaty of peace and alliance. The standards which had fallen into the hands of the Persians, were restored; the subjects of Heraclius were redeemed from slavery; and the true wood of the holy cross was resigned to the importunate demands of the emperor. Each sovereign retired within the limits of his former dominions; and a war, which had wounded the vitals of the two empires, produced no change in their external and relative situation. Heraclius, after the exploits of six glorious campaigns, returned in triumph from Tauris to Constantinople; but while he enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, an obscure town on the confines of Syria was pillaged

pillaged by the Saracens. Some troops, sent to its relief, were cut into pieces; and this trifling occurrence was the prelude of a mighty revolution. These robbers were the disciples of Mahomet, who emerging from the desert, in less than eight years acquired, by the sword, those provinces which had been rescued from the Persians by the valour of Heraclius.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

**SUCCESSION AND CHARACTERS OF THE GREEK EM-
PERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, FROM THE TIME
OF HERACLIUS TO THE LATIN CONQUEST.**

IN the succeeding part of this work will be contained the regular series of the emperors from the days of Heraclius to the Latin conquest. After this abstract of Byzantine history, the following nations will pass before our eyes, and each will occupy the space to which it is entitled by the degree of connection with the Roman world and the present age. I. The **FRANKS**, which appellation includes the Barbarians of France, Italy, and Germany; they were separated from the Byzantine throne by the persecution of images and their votaries; and their separation prepared the restoration of the Roman empire in the West. II. The **ARABS**, or **SARACENS**. These, after reducing Syria, Egypt, and Africa, overthrew

the monarchies of Persia and Spain ; but Constantinople and Europe were saved by the division and decay of the empire of the caliphs. III. The BULGARIANS ; IV. HUNGARIANS ; and, V. RUSSIANS, who assaulted by sea, or by land, the provinces and the capital. VI. The NORMANS, who founded a kingdom in Apulia and Sicily, and shook the throne of Constantinople. VII. The LATINS ; the subjects of the pope, the nations of the West, who enlisted under the cross for the recovery of the holy sepulchre. In these memorable crusades, a fleet and army of French and Venetians were diverted from Syria to the Thracian Bosphorus ; they assaulted the capital ; they subverted the Greek monarchy ; and a dynasty of Latin princes were seated near threescore years on the throne of Constantinople. VIII. The GREEKS themselves, during this period, must be considered as a foreign nation, the enemies, and again the sovereigns of Constantinople ; and the imperial series will be continued from their restoration to the Turkish conquests. IX. The MOGULS and TARTARS. By the arms of Zingis and his descendants, the sultans were overthrown, the caliphs fell, and the Cæsars trembled on their throne ; and the victories of Timour suspended the final ruin of the Byzantine empire above fifty years. X. The second dynasty of the Turkish nation, which emerged in the eleventh century from

from the Scythian wilderness. The Ottomans, who derived that name from Othman, became the scourge and terror of Europe. Constantinople was besieged and taken; and the title of the Roman empire in the East extinguished. Thence returning to the West, the ruins of ancient Rome will terminate our labour and inquiry.

Heraclius, after the death of his first wife Eudocia, had contracted an incestuous marriage with his niece Martina. The superstition of the Greeks beheld the judgment of heaven in the diseases of the father, and the deformity of his offspring. Constantine, his eldest son, enjoyed the title of Augustus; but the weakness of his constitution required a colleague; Heracleonas, the son of Martina, was associated to
A. D. 638.
the purple; the concord of the royal July 4.
brothers was affectedly displayed by the younger leaning on the elder; and the name
A. D. 639.
of Martina was mingled in the venal
acclamations of the people. Heraclius survived this association about two years; his
A. D. 641.
last testament declared his two sons February.
the equal heirs of the Eastern empire; and enjoined them to honour Martina as their mother and sovereign.

The aspiring Martina immediately assumed the ensigns of royalty; but she was compelled to

descend from the throne by the voice of freedom and superstition; as a woman, she was excluded from government, and retired within the female apartments of the palace. The death of Constantine, who, in the thirtieth year of his age, and after a reign of one hundred and three days, expired, not without suspicion of poison, revived the ambition of Martina. She resumed the reigns of government; but the incestuous widow of Heraclius was universally abhorred; the protestations of her son, then only fifteen years of age, were disregarded; and the late emperor, on his death-bed, had dispatched a trusty servant to arm the troops and provinces of the East, in the defence of his two helpless children; Valentin was successful; and from the camp of Chalcedon, he demanded the punishment of those who had poisoned Constantine, and insisted on the restoration of the lawful heir to the empire. The citizens of Constantinople compelled Heracleonas to appear in the pulpit of St. Sophia, with the eldest of the royal orphans. Constantine alone was saluted as emperor, and was crowned with the solemn benediction of the patriarch. A more bloody task was reserved for the senate, who were strengthened by the consent of the soldiers and the people. They condemned Martina and Heracleonas to amputation, the former of her tongue, the latter of his nose; and

after this cruel execution, they were permitted to linger through the remainder of their days in exile and oblivion.

Constantine ascended the throne when only twelve years old : his early respect for the senate was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age, and the habits of despotism. His jealousy induced him to impose on his brother Theodosius, the ceremony of holy orders ; but though thus disqualified for the purple, that unhappy youth could not escape the suspicions of the tyrant, who at last removed him by death. But the imprecations of the people pursued the royal assassin ; and in the fullness of his power, he was driven from his capital into perpetual exile. After passing a winter at Athens, he sailed to Tarentum, visited Rome, and fixed his residence at Syracuse. But his steps were attended by remorse ; and the visionary shade of his brother continually obtruded itself. Odious to himself and mankind, he perished, in the capital of Sicily, by domestic treason. A servant, who waited in the bath, after pouring warm water on his head, struck him violently with the vase ; he fell, stunned with the blow, and was suffocated with the water. The troops of Sicily hastily invested with the purple an obscure youth, whose beauty seems to have been his sole recommendation.

A. D. 641.
September.

But Constans had left in the Byzantine palace three sons; and the cause of Constantine, the eldest, was readily embraced by his subjects, who contributed with zeal and alacrity to chastise the presumption of a province, which had usurped the rights of the senate and the people. The emperor sailed from the Hellespont with a powerful fleet; the defeat of the Sicilian tyrant was easy; and his beauteous head was exposed in the hippodrome. Constantine returned in triumph to his capital; and the growth of his beard during the Sicilian voyage was announced to the Grecian world by the familiar appellation of Pogonatus. But his reign, like that of his predecessor, was stained with fraternal discord; he had bestowed on his two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, the title of Augustus. The royal youths demanded a partition of the sovereignty; their adherents were punished; the imprudent brothers were pardoned; but a repetition of the same offence deprived the princes of their titles and noses. Pogonatus, in the close of his life, was anxious to establish the right of primogeniture; he offered, on the shrine of St. Peter, the hair of his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius, as a symbol of their spiritual adoption by the pope; but the elder was alone exalted to the rank of Augustus, and the assurance of the empire.

After

After the decease of Pogonatus, Justinian II. ascended the throne; and dishonoured by his youthful vices the name of the celebrated law-giver. For ten years he enjoyed the sufferings, and braved the revenge of his subjects. Leontius, a general of reputation, was drawn from a dungeon to assume the government of Greece; he observed, with a sigh, that inevitable death would pursue his footsteps; his friends replied, that the tyrant was universally abhorred; and that two hundred thousand patriots expected only the voice of a leader. The night was chosen for their deliverance; the præfect was slain; the prisons were forced open; and Justinian was dragged into the hippodrome, where the clamours of the people demanded his instant death; but the pity of Leontius preserved the son of his benefactor; the amputation of his nose was imperfectly performed; and he was banished to the lonely settlement of Cherfonæ, in Crim-Tartary. A. D. 685. A. D. 695.

After three years, Leontius was dethroned by the rebel Apfimar, who assumed the name of Tiberius; the usurper regarded with terror the exiled Justinian, whose vices had stimulated the complaints of the Cherfonites. From the dangerous shore, with a band of desperate followers, the imperial fugitive escaped to the hord of the Chozars, who had pitched their tents between the

Tanais and the Borysthenes. The khan received him with respect, and bestowed on him his sister Theodora, with Phanagoria, a city on the Asiatic side of the lake Mæotis. But the chozar was soon tempted by the gold of Constantinople; and Justinian would have been assassinated, had not the secret been revealed by the affection of Theodora. The son of Pogonatus strangled the emissaries of the khan with his own hands, sent back Theodora to her brother, and embarked on the Euxine in search of new allies. His vessel was assaulted by a violent tempest; and one of his pious companions advised him to deserve the mercy of God by a vow of forgiveness, if he should be restored to his throne. "Of forgiveness!" replied the intrepid tyrant: "may I perish this instant—may the Almighty overwhelm me in the waves—if I consent to spare a single head of my enemies!" He landed in the mouth of the Danube; retired to the Bulgarians; and purchased, by splendid promises, the aid of Terbelis, a pagan prince. The two princes besieged Constantinople with sixteen thousand horse. Apſimar was dismayed by the sudden appearance of his rival; the misfortunes of their hereditary sovereign excited the pity of the multitude; and Justinian was introduced into Constantinople by the diligence of his adherents.

After rewarding Terbelis, he gratified his revenge,

venge, which he had nourished even amidst the storms of the Euxine; before their execution, he stood for an hour on the necks of Leontius and Apfimar. During the
 A. D. 705.
 six years of his new reign, the rack, the axe, and the cord, were incessantly employed. The Chersonites were peculiarly destined to experience his vengeance; but after a series of cruelties, too inhuman to relate, the khan of the Chozars renounced the cause of his brother; the exiles of the provinces assembled in Tauris; and Philippicus was invested with the purple. The tyrant, deserted by his Barbarian guards, received without dread the mortal
 A. D. 711.
 stroke; and the death of his son Tiberius, extinguished, after a reign of one hundred years, the race of Heraclius.

Philippicus abused, during more than two years, the authority he had acquired by the death of the tyrant. But some bold conspirators in the disorder of a feast surprised, blinded, and deposed the intoxicated monarch: but
 A. D. 713.
 the traitors were disappointed of their reward, and the voice of the people promoted Artemius, who assumed the title of Anastasius, to the imperial dignity. Three years
 A. D. 716.
 of a turbulent reign had scarce elapsed, before Theodosius, an obscure officer of the revenue, was reluctantly invested with the purple,

a mutiny of the fleet. Anastasius resigned the sceptre; and Theodosius, the conqueror, in his turn, was compelled to yield to the ascendant of Leo, the general of the Oriental troops; yet the last days of Theodosius were honourable and secure, while the restless spirit of Anastasius tempted him to risk and lose his life in a treasonable conspiracy.

The primitive name of Leo was A. D. 718. Conon; and it is agreed, that he was a native of Isauria. His first service was in the guards of Justinian; and his valour and dexterity gradually raised him to the command of the Anatolian legions, and, by the suffrage of the soldiers, to the empire of the East. In this dangerous elevation, amidst religious innovations, he conducted himself with temper and firmness; and after a reign of twenty-four years, peaceably expired in the palace of Constantinople.

Constantine the Fifth was the son A. D. 741. and successor of Leo, and derived the name of Copronymus from the pollution of his baptismal font. His manners were dissolute, and his temper was cruel; but his enemies allow his courage and activity at the head of his legions; and in a various reign of thirty-four years, he triumphed by sea and land, on the Euphrates and the Danube, in civil and Barbarian war.

Leo

Leo the Fourth, the son of the fifth, and the father of the sixth Constantine, was of a feeble constitution both of mind and body. He associated to the empire the young Constantine, with the unanimous wishes of his subjects; but the five sons of Copronymus, by a second marriage, endeavoured to disturb the peace of the empire. Their treasonable attempts were twice pardoned; a third conspiracy was punished with amputation, and banishment to Athens; even in this retreat their restless spirits prompted them to listen to a Sclavonian chief, who offered to break their prison, and lead them to Constantinople; the people of Athens appear to have interposed; and the sons of Copronymus were lost in oblivion and darkness.

The empress Irene was declared, by the testament of Leo, the guardian of the Roman world, and of her son Constantine the Sixth, who was no more than ten years of age. During his childhood, Irene faithfully discharged the office she was entrusted with; the mature age of the emperor rendered the maternal yoke grievous; his favourites stimulated his desire for power, and it was determined to banish Irene to Sicily. The penetration of the empress discovered the design; the project was disconcerted; the rash advisers punished; and the prince

prince compelled to submit to the ascendant of his mother, who exacted an oath of fidelity to herself alone. A tumult of the Armenian guards encouraged the general declaration that Constantine the Sixth was the lawful emperor. He ascended the throne, and dismissed Irene to a life of solitude and repose. The precarious attachment of the Armenians was soon alienated by the imprudent rigour of the emperor; Irene was restored; and the unfortunate Constantine was de-

A. D. 792. prived of his eyes by his unnatural and ambitious mother.

Irene for several years maintained her reign with external splendour; but the black ingratitude of those whom she had raised to the highest dignities of the state, undermined her power. The

A. D. 802. great treasurer, Nicephorus, was secretly invested with the purple; and the empress, after in vain soliciting a decent and honourable retreat, was compelled in her exile to the isle of Lesbos, to earn a scanty subsistence by the labours of her distaff.

The character of Nicephorus was stained with the three odious vices of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice. Unskilful and unfortunate in war, he was vanquished by the Saracens, and slain by

A. D. 811. the Bulgarians. His son Stauracius
July 25. escaped from the field with a mortal wound; but the six months that he survived were
sufficient

sufficient to prove, that, with the kingdom, he inherited the vices of his father. Michael, who had married his sister Procopia, possessed the wishes and esteem of the palace and city. The jealousy of Stauracius conspired against the life of his successor, and exasperated the people; and the son of Nicephorus, before he sunk into the grave, was compelled to implore the clemency of his new sovereign.

The virtues of Michael were adapted to the shade of private life; but were unequal to the task of controuling his ambitious subjects, or repressing the invasions of the victorious Barbarians. The masculine spirit of his wife Procopia, who presumed to direct the discipline of the camp, awakened the indignation of the soldiers. A disaffected army asserted the right of Leo the Armenian; the humanity of Michael prevented, by a voluntary resignation, the calamities of civil war; and the imperial monk, separated from his power and wife, enjoyed the comforts of solitude and religion above thirty-two years.

Leo the Fifth had been early educated in a camp; he introduced into his civil government the rigour of military discipline; but if his severity was sometimes dangerous to the innocent, it was always formidable to the guilty. Michael, his companion, had

A. D. 811.

Oct. 2.

A. D. 811.

July 11.

contri-

contributed towards the elevation of the emperor, and he soon conspired against his authority. His criminal designs had been frequently detected, and repeatedly pardoned by the gratitude of Leo; he was at length confined and condemned; but a more successful conspiracy released him from his prison, and terminated the life and reign of Leo, who was slain by the inexorable assassin at the foot of the altar.

Michael, who from a defect in his speech sur-named the Stammerer, had been delivered from a dungeon and impending death to display his depraved and ignoble manners

A. D. 820.

Dec. 25.

on a throne. His title was disputed by Thomas the Cappadocian; he transported into Europe an army of fourscore thousand Barbarians from the banks of the Tigris and the shores of the Caspian; he formed the siege of Constantinople; but his camp was assaulted by a Bulgarian king, and Thomas had the misfortune to fall into the power of the conqueror. The hands and feet of the rebel were amputated; and, mounted on an ass, he was led through the streets of the city, which he sprinkled with his blood. Michael, on the death of his first wife, had drawn from a convent Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine the Sixth, who stipulated that her children should share equally the empire with their elder brother; but the nuptials of Michael and Euphrosyne were barren;

barren ; and she was content with the title of the mother of Theophilus, his son and successor.

The valour of Theophilus, though often felt by his enemies, was rash and fruitless ; his justice, though acknowledged by his subjects, was arbitrary and cruel. His five expeditions against the Saracens were concluded by a signal overthrow ; and from his military toils, he only derived the surname of the Unfortunate. His jealous tyranny sacrificed a brother and a prince to the future safety of his throne. A Persian, of the race of Sassanides, had died in exile at Constantinople ; his son was educated in the Byzantine court, a Christian and a soldier. He received the hand of the emperor's sister, and the command of thirty thousand Persians, who, like his father, had fled from the Mahometan conquerors. These troops wished to place their general on the throne ; but the loyal Theophobus rejected their offers, and escaped from their hands to the palace of his royal brother ; but instead of engaging the confidence, he excited the jealousy of the emperor, exasperated by envy and disease. He feared the dangerous virtues which might oppress the weakness and infancy of his wife and son. He demanded the head of the Persian ; and as he received it, " Thou art," said he, " no longer Theophobus ;" and, sinking on his couch, he added, " Soon,

“ Soon, too soon, I shall be no more Theophilus.”

A. D. 842.

Jan. 20.

The last will of Theophilus entrusted his widow Theodora with the guardianship of the empire and her son Michael, then only in the fifth year of his age. After a prudent administration of thirteen years, the empress perceived the decline of her influence ; but instead of conspiring against the government of her son, she retired into solitude, deploring the vices, and the inevitable ruin of the unworthy youth. Michael the Third had rejected the authority of his mother ; and he studiously imitated the ignoble pursuits of Nero, and the licentious pleasures of Elagabalus ; he delighted in the amusements of the theatre, and devoted himself to the indulgence of lust and intemperance ; as contemptible as he was odious, the son of Theophilus had incurred the enmity of every worthy citizen. In the thirtieth year of his age, and in the hour of intoxication and sleep, Michael the Third was murdered in his chamber by the founder of a new dynasty, whom the emperor himself had raised to an equality of rank and power.

A. D. 867.

Sept. 24.

Basil, the Macedonian, derived his descent from a younger branch of the Arfacides, the former rivals of Rome. Two of these had retired to the court of Leo the First, and

and experienced a hospitable settlement in the province of Macedonia. Their splendour was insensibly clouded by time and poverty; and the father of Basil was reduced to a small farm, which he cultivated with his own hands. He had married a widow of Adrianople, who counted among her ancestors the great Constantine; but Basil was scarcely born, before he was swept away, with his family and city, by an inundation of the Bulgarians. Educated as a slave in the severe service of the Barbarians, he acquired a hardiness of body and flexibility of mind which promoted his future elevation. He shared the deliverance of the Roman captives, who broke their chains, marched through Bulgaria to the shores of the Euxine, defeated two armies of Barbarians, and embarked in the vessels prepared for their reception for Constantinople. He was introduced to the service of a cousin and namesake of the emperor Theophilus; attracted the favour of a rich widow of Patra, whose bounty he employed in the education of his brothers; and, still as the servant of Theophilus, overthrew a celebrated wrestler of the Bulgarians, and tamed a beautiful but vicious horse, which had been condemned as unmanageable. He married a concubine of the emperor Michael, and her place was supplied by the sister of the new favourite, who was raised to the dignity

nity of chamberlain, associated to the purple, and by the murder of Michael established himself on the throne.

The solid praise of Basil is drawn from the ruined state of his kingdom at his accession, and the flourishing condition of it as his death. His application was indefatigable, his temper cool, his understanding vigorous and decisive. Though he was not endowed with the spirit and the talents of a warrior, yet under his reign the Roman arms were again formidable to the Barbarians; but his principal merit was in the civil administration of the finances, and of the laws. His glorious reign was terminated by an accident in the chace; a furious stag entangled his horns in the belt of Basil, and raised him from his horse; he was rescued by an attendant, who slew the animal; but the fall, or fever, exhausted the strength of the aged monarch, and he expired, in the palace, amidst the tears of his family and people.

Constantine, the eldest son of Basil, A. D. 886.
 had died before his father; Stephen, March 21.
 the youngest, was content with the honours of a patriarch and a saint; Leo and Alexander, the two other sons, were alike invested with the purple; but the power was solely exercised by the elder brother, Leo the Sixth, surnamed the *Philosopher*. The only reason to be discovered for this

this sage appellation is, that the son of Basil appeared less ignorant than the greater part of his contemporaries in church and state, and that several books of profane and ecclesiastical science were composed in his name, or by his pen. In his three first alliances, his nuptial bed was unfruitful; the emperor required a female companion, and the empire a legitimate heir. The beautiful Zoe was introduced as a concubine, and on the birth of Constantine, her lover declared his intention of legitimating the mother and the child. But a fourth marriage was a scandal as yet unknown to the Christians of the East; the patriarch Nicolas refused his blessing; the imperial baptism was procured by a promise of separation soon broken; and the subsequent edict of Constantine, which condemned the future scandal of fourth marriages, left a tacit imputation on his own birth.

Constantine the Seventh, derived the appellation of *Porphyrogenitus*, from the apartment of the Byzantine palace which was reserved for the use of the pregnant empresses, and lined with *porphyry* or *purple*. On his father's death, he was but six years old; and the weakness of his successive guardians or agents, tempted the ambition of a soldier, who, from an obscure origin, had raised himself to the command of the naval forces of the empire. Romanus Lecapen-

A. D. 911.
May 11.

nus, with a victorious fleet, sailed from the mouth of the Danube into the harbour of Constantinople, and was hailed as the deliverer of the people and the guardian of the prince. But Romanus soon disdained the subordinate powers of a minister, and assumed, with the titles of Cæsar A. D. 919. and Augustus, the full independence
Dec. 24. of royalty, which he held near five and twenty years. His three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine, were successively adorned with the same honours, and the lawful emperor was degraded from the first to the fifth rank in this college of princes; but his studious temper and retirement disarmed the jealousy of Lecapenus, and the grandson of Basil improved a scanty allowance by his skill as an artist, and by the sale of his pictures.

The fall of Romanus was occasioned by his own vices and those of his children. After the decease of Christopher his eldest son, the two surviving brothers quarrelled with each other, and conspired against their father. They surprised him in the palace, and conveyed him, in the habit of a monk, to a small island in the Propontis, which was peopled by a religious community. This domestic revolution excited a tumult, which restored Porphyrogenitus; and the sons of Romanus were embarked for the same island as they had previously transported their father

ther

ther to. In the fortieth year of his reign, Constantine the Seventh, ob-
A. D. 945.
Jan. 27.
 tained the possession of the Eastern world; but while he indulged the habits of intemperance and sloth, he relinquished the reins of government to the caprice of his wife Helena, the daughter of the banished Romanus; yet the birth, misfortunes, learning, and innocence of Constantine, endeared him to the Greeks; fifteen years afterwards, the ceremony of his funeral was mourned by the unfeigned tears of his subjects; before the procession moved towards the imperial sepulchre, an herald proclaimed this awful admonition, "Arise, O king of the world, and obey
 "the summons of the king of kings."

The death of Constantine was im-
A. D. 959.
Nov. 15.
 puted to poison; and his son Romanus, who derived that name from his maternal grandfather, ascended the throne at Constantinople. While his two brothers, Nicephorus and Leo, triumphed over the Saracens, the hours of the emperor were devoted to the amusements of the Circus, and the pleasures of the table. Though in strength and beauty he was conspicuous above the race of men, yet these perfections were insufficient to fix the love of Theophano, his wife, a woman of base origin, masculine spirit, and flagitious manners; and after a reign of four years, she

mingled for her husband the same deadly draught which she had composed for his father.

Romanus the younger left two sons, Basil the Second, and Constantine the Ninth; and two daughters, Theophano and Anne.

A. D. 963. The eldest was given to the second emperor of the West; the younger became the wife of Wolodomir, great duke and apostle of Russia. After the death of her husband, the empress Theophano in vain endeavoured to reign alone; and conscious of the necessity of a protector, she threw herself into the arms of Nicephorus Phocas, who united in the popular opinion the double merit of a hero and a saint. In the former character, his qualifications were genuine and splendid; but his religion was of a more ambiguous cast; and his wish to retire from the world, was a convenient mask for his dark and dangerous ambition. He marched to Constantinople, avowed his correspondence with the empress, and, without degrading her sons, assumed the title of Augustus, with the pre-eminence of power. In a reign of six years, he provoked the hatred of his subjects, who accused him of hypocrisy and avarice; yet Nicephorus strictly applied the revenue to the public use; each spring he marched in person against the Saracens; and every Roman might compute the employment of his

his taxes in triumphs, conquests, and the security of the Eastern barrier.

John Zimisces, a noble Armenian, whose stature was below the ordinary standard, A. D. 969.
Dec. 25. but whose body was endowed with

strength, beauty, and the soul of a hero, had promoted the elevation of Nicephorus, and had been rewarded with disgrace and exile. But Zimisces was ranked among the numerous lovers of the empress; by her intercession he was permitted to reside in the neighbourhood of the capital, and Theophano consented with alacrity to the death of her husband. The conspirators were introduced into the palace; the head of Nicephorus was shewn to the populace; and the Armenian was proclaimed emperor of the East. At the exhortation of the patriarch he separated himself from his more criminal associate, and Theophano was condemned to lament her crimes in exile. The personal valour and activity of Zimisces were signalized on the Danube and the Tigris; and by his double triumph over the Russians and Saracens, he deserved the title of saviour of the empire, and conqueror of the east. But he had imprudently, in his last return from Syria, expressed his indignation at the wealth and property of the eunuchs, and the death of Zimisces is strongly marked with poison.

A. D. 976. During this usurpation of twelve years, the two lawful emperors, Basil and Constantine, had grown to the age of manhood ; but the premature death of Zimisces, who faithfully administered the empire, without violating the right of succession, was a loss rather than a benefit, to the sons of Romanus. Constantine continued to indulge the pleasures of youth, and to reject the cares of government ; but his elder brother felt the impulse of genius, and the desire of action. Constantinople and the provinces acknowledged Basil as their sovereign ; but Asia was oppressed by two veteran generals, Phocas and Sclerus. The death of the first in the front of battle, the submission of the last at the foot of the throne, confirmed the authority of Basil, who displayed his valour in frequent expeditions against the Saracens, and by the final destruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria. Yet the victorious prince was detested by his subjects ; his rigour, and his contempt of the laws and arts, proclaimed the stern and ignorant soldier. In the sixty-eighth year of his age, the martial spirit of Basil prompted him in person to undertake a war against the Saracens of Sicily, but he was
A. D. 1025. prevented by death ; and he expired
Dec. 1025. with the blessings of the clergy, and the curses of the people ; his feeble brother Constantine

stantine survived him about three years, and employed his power and time in the careful settlement of the succession.

After the death of Constantine the Ninth, the sceptre devolved on Romanus Argyrus, a patrician of graceful person and fair reputation, who had married Zoe, the second daughter A. D. 1028.
of the late emperor. This abandoned Nov. 12.

woman had preferred to the pleasures of her bed Michael, an handsome Paphlagonian, and her favourite chamberlain. Zoe soon justified the Roman maxim, that every adulteress is capable of poisoning her husband; and the death of Romanus was instantly followed by the scandalous marriage and elevation of Michael the Fourth. But the expectations of Zoe were disappointed; the health and reason of Michael were soon impaired by epileptic fits, and remorse of conscience; his brother John, the eunuch, governed in his name with absolute sway; an obscure nephew of the emperor's was adorned with the purple; and Michael, surnamed Calaphates, from his father's occupation in careening of vessels, was adopted by Zoe, and succeeded A. D. 1041.
on the death of his uncle to the throne. Dec. 14.

The only act of his short reign was his ingratitude to the eunuch and the empress. The disgrace of the first was grateful to the public; but the exile of the last created a tumult which con-

tinued for three days. Zoe was restored from her prison, and Theodora, her eldest sister, was called
 A. D. 1042. from her monastery to the imperial
 April 1. authority. The son of Calaphates was punished with the loss of his eyes, and the royal sisters for two months gave audience to the ambassadors, and presided in the senate. Theodora remained averse to marriage,
 A. D. 1042. but Zoe consented to receive a third
 June 11. husband, who reigned as Constantine the Tenth, but whose surname *Monomachus*, expressed his valour and victory in some public or private quarrel. The health of Constantine was broken by the gout; and the most memorable transaction of his reign was his dividing, with the consent of Zoe, the nuptial bed with a widow of the name of Selerena. Yet he survived both his wives, and on his death, for nineteen months,
 A. D. 1054. Theodora resumed the administration
 Nov. 30. of the empire; her ministers persuaded her to nominate for her successor Michael
 A. D. 1056. the Sixth, a decrepit veteran; whilst
 Aug. 22. he ascended the throne, Theodora sunk into the grave, and with her expired the Macedonian dynasty.

The family of the Comneni had long been transported from Italy to Asia. Manuel, in the reign of the second Basil, had contributed to appease the troubles of the East. He left in a tender

der age two sons, Isaac and John, whom he bequeathed to the gratitude of his sovereign. The youths were carefully educated, and rapidly advanced to the command of armies and provinces. Their fraternal union doubled their reputation. The soldiers disdained the elevation of Michael as an insult; and their leaders, by general consent, approved Isaac Comnenus; the fate of Michael was decided in a single battle; but the humanity of the Comnenian allowed his adversary to seclude himself in a monastery. Yet Isaac had scarce received the diadem, before the decline of his health admonished him to provide a successor. Instead of leaving the empire as a marriage portion to his daughter, his reason decided the preference of his brother John. The obstinate refusal of John was attended by the nomination of Constantine Ducas, a friend of the Comnenian house; and Isaac in a monastic habit survived two years his voluntary abdication.

Constantine the Eleventh but ill A. D. 1059.
December 25. approved the discernment of Isaac; indifferent, or ignorant of the duties of a sovereign and a warrior, he was only anxious to secure, at the expence of the republic, the power and prosperity of his children. His three sons, Michael the Seventh, Andronicus the First, and Constantine the Twelfth, were invested, in a tender age, with the equal title of Augustus; and the

the succession was speedily opened by their father's death. His widow Eudocia was entrusted with the administration, under a solemn engagement of abstaining from second nuptials; but before the expiration of seven months, Eudocia raised Romanus ^{A. D. 1067.} ^{May.} Diogenes to her bed and her throne. The friends of the young princes were diverted from their opposition by the tears of their mother, and the assurances of the fidelity of the guardian. The defeat and captivity of Romanus by the Turks, inflicted a deadly wound on the monarchy of the East. When he was released from the chains of the Sultan, he vainly sought his wife and his subjects. The former was thrust into a monastery; and the latter had embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law, that a prisoner, in the hands of his enemy, is deprived of all the public and private rights of a citizen. The fruitless enterprizes of Romanus were succeeded by submission; and his submission, contrary to the faith ^{A. D. 1071.} ^{August.} of his capitulation, was attended by a cruel death. Under the triple reign of the house of Ducas, the two younger brothers were reduced to the vain honours of the purple; and the elder, Michael, surnamed *Parapinaces*, by his avarice and weakness, had incurred the hatred and contempt of his subjects. Two generals, of the same name of Nicephorus, but distinguished by

by the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates, appeared at the head of the European and Asiatic legions, and assumed the purple at Adrianople and Nice. Bryennius soon displayed his standards before the gates of Constantinople; but his troops were repulsed by the inhabitants; while Botaniates advanced with slow and cautious steps, and was received with the acclamations of the people, and the approbation of the senate. The feeble emperor, applauding his own moderation, resigned the purple; and was rewarded with the monastic habit, and the title of archbishop of Ephesus. He left a son, Constantine, born and educated in the purple, and a daughter of the house of Ducas afterwards intermarried with, and confirmed the succession of, the Comnenian dynasty.

Alexius, the nephew of the emperor Isaac, and the third son of John

A. D. 1078.
March 25.

Comnenus, who had refused the imperial sceptre, had adhered to the cause of Michael, till he was deserted by the world and himself. In his first interview with Botaniates, "Prince," said Alexius, "my duty rendered me your enemy; the decrees of God, and of the people, have made me your subject; judge of my future loyalty by my past opposition." The successor of Michael entertained him with esteem and confidence, and his valour was successfully employed

ployed against Ursel, Bryennius, and Basilacius, three rebels, who disturbed the peace of the empire: but the refusal of Alexius to march against a fourth rebel, the husband of his sister, destroyed the memory of his past services; and Alexius, apprehensive of the indignation of the emperor, retired with his elder brother Isaac, and erected the standard of civil war. The soldiers, who had gradually been assembled in the neighbourhood of the capital, devoted themselves to the cause of a victorious and injured leader; Alexius, with the applause of the army, and by the generous consent of his elder brother, was invested with the imperial purple. Constantinople was surprised; the aged Botaniates disappeared in a monastery; and the family of the Comneni were again seated on the throne.

A. D. 1081.

April 1.

The disorders of the times were the misfortunes and glory of Alexius. At the head of his armies, he was bold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigour. In his intercourse with the Latins, he was artful and discerning; and he balanced, with superior policy, the interests and the passions of the champions of the first crusade; but the patience of Constantinople was fatigued by the length and severity of his reign; and before Alexius expired, he had
lost

lost the love and reverence of his subjects. Even the sincerity of his moral and religious virtues was suspected by the persons who had passed their lives in his familiar confidence. When pressed by his wife Irene, in his last hours, to alter the succession, he breathed a pious ejaculation on the vanity of the world; and the indignant empress replied, "you die, as you have lived,—
" AN HYPOCRITE."

John, the elder son of Alexius, A.D. 1118, succeeded to the throne; and in the same person the claims of primogeniture and merit were fortunately united. His younger brother Isaac, was content with the title of *Sebastocrator*, which approached the dignity, without sharing the power, of the emperor. Feared by his nobles, and beloved by his people, during the government of John, the penalty of death was abolished in the Roman empire. Chaste, frugal, and abstemious, he revived the virtues of Marcus Antoninus. The only defect of this accomplished character, was the frailty of noble minds, the love of arms. From Constantinople to Antioch and Aleppo, he frequently marched at the head of a victorious army; and the Latins were astonished at the superior spirit and prowess of a Greek; but as, after a reign of twenty-five years, he hunted the wild boar, in a struggle with the furious animal, a poisoned arrow from
his

his quiver wounded his hand, and proved fatal to the best and greatest of the Comnenian princes.

The judgment of John, of his two sons Isaac A. D. 1143. and Manuel, preferred the younger ;

April 8.

and the choice of the dying prince was ratified by the approbation of the soldiers. Isaac soon acquiesced in the determination, and acquired the title of Sebastocrator. The thirty-seven years reign of Manuel is filled by a perpetual warfare against the Turks, the Christians, and the Hords of the Wilderness beyond the Danube. The story of the personal exploits of the emperor may induce a reasonable suspicion of the veracity of the Greeks. Such was his strength and exercise in arms, that Raymond, surnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the Greek emperor. Ever foremost to provoke, or to accept a single combat, the champions who encountered his arm were transpierced by the lance, or cut asunder by the sword of the invincible Manuel : but with the valour of a soldier, he did not unite the skill or prudence of a general ; and his Turkish laurels were blasted by his last campaign, in which he lost his army in the mountains of Pisidia. Hardy and abstemious in the field, at Constantinople he resigned himself to the arts and pleasures of a life of luxury. The double cost of a warrior, and a dissolute prince, exhausted the revenue, and multiplied

multiplied the taxes ; and Manuel, in the distress of his last Turkish camp, endured a bitter reproach from the mouth of a desperate soldier. As he quenched his thirst at a fountain, he complained that the water was mingled with Christian blood. " It is not the first time, O emperor," exclaimed a voice from the crowd, " that you " have drank the blood of your Christian subjects." The daughter of Manuel, by his first wife, was destined for Bela, an Hungarian prince, who was educated at Constantinople, under the name of Alexius ; but the subsequent marriage of the emperor with Maria, a princess of Antioch, was productive of a son, on whom the name of Alexius was bestowed ; the Hungarian prince was deprived of his bride, and resumed his former name and kingdom ; and Alexius, at the age of ten years, on his father's decease, ascended the Byzantine throne.

Andronicus, the younger son of Isaac, and grandson of Alexius Comnenus, was dexterous in arms, incapable of fear, and possessed of a ready eloquence. In his youth, as he followed the retreat of the Roman army, he was surprised by the Turks, and remained some time a reluctant or willing captive in the power of the Sultan. His virtues and vices recommended him to the favour of his cousin ; he shared the perils and the pleasures of Manuel ; and while the emperor

peror lived in public incest with his neice Theodora, the affections of her sister Eudocia were seduced and enjoyed by Andronicus: but his treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary and the German emperor, soon engaged the attention of Manuel, and a twelve years imprisonment was the punishment of his treachery and ingratitude. At the end of this term Andronicus escaped from his confinement, traversed the desert of Moldavia, and the Carpathian hills, deceived a party of Walachians who had intercepted him, and reached Kiow, the residence of the Russian prince. In this northern region he deserved the forgiveness of Manuel, by persuading the prince to join the arms of the emperor in the invasion of Hungary. At the head of the Russian cavalry, Andronicus marched from the Borysthenes to the Danube; and his valour in the assault of Zemlin sealed his free pardon.

By his patriotism, in refusing an oath of allegiance to the presumptive heir of the empire, Andronicus again offended his sovereign; by seducing the beautiful Philippa, the sister of the empress Maria, he excited his resentment. With a band of desperate adventurers, leaving the indiscreet princess to weep and to repent, Andronicus undertook the pilgrimage of Jerusalem, and captivated the affections of Theodora, a young and handsome queen-widow of Baldwin the

Third, king of Jerufalem. Driven from Paleftine, he retired with his wife, and his band of outlaws, among the Turks of Afia Minor; and at length implored the clemency and received a pardon from the emperor. But the juft fufpicion of Manuel fixed the refidence of his daring relation at Oenoe, a town of Pontus, furrounded with rich vineyards, and fituate on the coaft of the Euxine.

The death of Manuel, and the diforders of the ftate, opened the faireft field to the ambition of Andronicus. The emperor was a boy of twelve years of age, without vigour or wifdom; the empress Maria had abandoned her perfon and government to a favourite of the Comnenian name; her daughter-in-law, another Maria, had excited an infurrection; a civil war was kindled in Conftantinople; the moft respectable patriots called aloud for a guardian and avenger; and every tongue repeated the praife of Andronicus. In his march from Oenoe to Conftantinople, his train infenfibly fwelled to a crowd and an army; all oppofition funk before him; and the Byzantine navy failed from the harbour to receive and transport the faviour of the empire. The firft cares of Andronicus were to falute the emperor, to confine his mother, to punifh her minifter, and to reftore the public order and tranquillity. The coronation of Alexius was performed with due

solemnity; but the adherents of Andronicus maintained, that the Romans could only be saved by a veteran prince, bold in arms, skilful in policy, and taught to reign by the long experience of fortune and mankind. Alexius was condemned to receive a colleague, who soon degraded him from the first rank; condemned and executed his mother; and at last strangled the helpless and unfortunate youth. As the tyrant, insensible to pity, surveyed the corpse, he struck it rudely with his foot, and exclaimed, “Thy father was a *knave*, thy mother a *whore*, and thyself a *fool*!”

A. D. 1183. The short reign of Andronicus was a singular contrast of vice and virtue; when he listened to his passions, he was the scourge, when he consulted his reason the father, of his people. The necessary extinction of the young emperor and his mother, imposed the fatal obligation of extirpating the friends, who hated, and might punish the assassin. The general detestation of the people was at length aroused. Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from the great Alexius, had fled from the executioner to the church of St. Sophia. The lamentations of the crowd, who had sought the same sanctuary, were soon converted into curses. The city burst into a general sedition; the name of Isaac was re-echoed by innumerable acclamations; and Andronicus, deserted by his guards,
was

was abandoned to the rage of the populace. His teeth, his hair, an eye, and a hand, were torn from him; suspended between two pillars, every hand that could reach the public enemy, inflicted on him some mark of ingenious, or brutal cruelty; till two friendly, or furious Italians, plunging their swords into his body, released him from all human punishment. In this long and painful agony, "Lord have mercy upon me!" "and why will you bruise a broken reed?" were the only words that escaped his mouth; and our hatred for the tyrant is lost in pity for the man. Isaac Angelus, who succeeded to the purple, was dethroned by his own vices, and the ambition of his brother; and their discord introduced the Latins to the conquest of Constantinople, the first great period in the fall of the Eastern empire.

 CHAPTER XXXV.

INTRODUCTION, WORSHIP, AND PERSECUTION OF
 IMAGES—REVOLT OF ITALY AND ROME—TEM-
 PORAL DOMINION OF THE POPES—CONQUEST OF
 ITALY BY THE FRANKS—ESTABLISHMENT OF
 IMAGES—CHARACTER AND CORONATION OF
 CHARLEMAGNE—RESTORATION AND DE-
 CAY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE
 WEST—INDEPENDENCE OF ITALY—
 CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMANIC
 BODY.

THE propagation of Christianity, the consti-
 tution of the catholic church, and the ruin of
 Paganism, have been already reviewed as inti-
 mately connected with the decline and fall of the
 Roman empire. To these we may justly add the
 worship of images, so fiercely disputed in the
 eighth and ninth centuries ; and which produced
 the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the
 popes,

popes, and the restoration of the Roman empire in the West.

The primitive Christians were possessed with an unconquerable repugnance to the use and abuse of images ; but, under the successors of Constantine, in the peace and luxury of the triumphant church, the more prudent bishops condescended to indulge a visible superstition for the benefit of the multitude. The first introduction of a symbolic worship was in the veneration of the cross, and of relics. The son of God was next represented under the form, which, it was supposed, he had assumed on earth ; and the Virgin Mary soon claimed and obtained a similar indulgence. But as the primitive Christians were ignorant of the genuine features of the son of God, his mother, and his apostles, a Syrian fable was adopted, by which Christ presents the imperfect impression of his face on linen, to Abgarus, who invoked his healing power, and offered the strong city of Edeffa to protect him from the Jews. The copies of the features were multiplied with diligence ; and, before the sixth century, these images were propagated in the camps and cities of the Eastern empire ; but the semblance of idolatry was more coldly entertained by the rude Barbarians, and the Arian clergy of the West.

The worship of images had stolen into the church by insensible degrees ; but in the begin-

ning of the eighth century, in the full magnitude of the abuse, the Greeks were awakened by an apprehension, that under the mask of Christianity, they had restored the religion of their fathers. They heard with impatience themselves charged as idolators by the Jews and Mahometans, who, from the law and the koran, imbibed an implacable hatred to graven images and all relative worship. The servitude of the Jews might depreciate their authority; but the triumphant Mussulmen cast into the scale of reproach, the weight of truth and victory. Though the cities of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, had been fortified with the figures of Christ, his mother, and his saints, in a rapid conquest of ten years, the Arabs subdued the cities, and their protecting images; and, in their opinion, the Lord of Hosts pronounced a decisive judgment between the adoration and contempt of the mute and inanimate idols. Many of the Christians opposed by murmurs the progressive influence of these symbols; the Armenians, even in the twelfth century, were not reconciled to them; and the more rude districts of the empire were strangers to this innovation of sacred luxury.

Leo the Third, from the mountains of Isauria, A. D. 726. had ascended the throne of the East, 840. Ignorant of sacred and profane letters, the martial peasant was inspired with an hatred

hatred of images; but during the first ten years of his unfettled reign, Leo bowed before the idols he despised, and satisfied the Roman pontiffs with the annual professions of his orthodoxy and zeal. In the reformation of religion, his first steps were moderate and cautious; but he was provoked by resistance and invective; the existence, as well as the use of religious pictures, were proscribed; the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, were demolished; and a smooth surface of plaster was spread over the walls of the churches of Constantinople and the provinces. In the reign of his son Copronymus, a general assembly was summoned, and met in the suburbs of Constantinople; a decree was pronounced, that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the eucharist, were either blasphemous, or heretical; and all such monuments of idolatry were condemned to be broken, or erased. Copronymus, in the first year of his reign, had undertaken an expedition against the Saracens; during his absence, his capital, his palace, and his throne, were occupied by his kinsman Artavasdes, the ambitious champion of the orthodox faith. The worship of images was triumphantly restored; but Copronymus, who had retired to his paternal mountains, soon descended at the head of his bold and faithful Isaurians; his victory was decisive; and his re-

sentment was directed against the monks, his implacable enemies. From the chastisement of individuals, he proceeded to the abolition of the order; their religious communities were dissolved; the buildings converted into magazines, or barracks; and their property confiscated; and with the habit and profession of the monks, the public and private worship of images was rigorously proscribed.

The East abjured, with reluctance, her sacred symbols; they were vigorously defended by the independent zeal of the Italians in the West. The patriarch of Constantinople, and the pope of Rome, were nearly equal in ecclesiastical rank and jurisdiction; but the Greek prelate was under the eye of a master, while the freedom of the Latin bishop was excited by a distant station among the Barbarians of the West. His popular election endeared him to the Romans; and the neglect of the emperors compelled him to consult, both in peace and war, the temporal safety of the city. The priest insensibly imbibed the virtues and ambition, and at length assumed the character, of a prince. In the eighth century, the dominion of the pope was founded on rebellion, and that rebellion was justified by the heresy of the *Iconoclasts*. The second and third Gregory pronounced the separation of the East and West, and deprived the sacrilegious tyrant
of

of the revenue and sovereignty of Italy. In an epistle from Gregory the Second to Leo, after defending the use of images, he adds, “ The eyes of the nations are fixed on our humility ; and they revere, as a God upon earth, the apostle St. Peter, whose image you threaten to destroy. The Barbarians have submitted to the yoke of the gospel, while you alone are deaf to the voice of the shepherd. These pious Barbarians are kindled into rage ; they think to avenge the persecution of the East ; abandon your rash and fatal enterprize ; reflect, tremble, and repent. If you persist, we are innocent of the blood that will be spilt in the contest ; may it fall on your own head.”

On the reception of the proscriptive edict of Leo, the Italians trembled for their domestic deities. A strong alternative was proposed to the Roman pontiff ; the royal favour as the price of his compliance, degradation and exile as the penalty of his disobedience. Neither zeal nor policy allowed Gregory to hesitate ; without depending on prayer or miracles, he boldly armed against the public enemy. Ravenna, Venice, and the cities of the exarchate and Pentapolis, adhered to the cause of the orthodox religion ; the Italians swore to live and die in the defence of the pope, and the sacred images ; the Roman people were devoted to their father ; and even the Lombards
were

were ambitious to share the merit and advantage of the holy war. To restore his dominions in Italy, the emperor sent a fleet and army into the Adriatic gulf; the Greeks made their descent in the neighbourhood of Ravenna; but the inhabitants armed in the defence of their religion and country; after a hard-fought battle, the Greeks were compelled to retreat to their ships; and amidst the triumph of the catholic arms, the Roman pontiff convened a synod of ninety-three bishops against the heresy of the Iconoclasts. With their consent, he pronounced a general excommunication against all who should attack the tradition of their fathers, and the images of the saints; no sooner had they confirmed their own safety, the worship of images, and the freedom of Rome and Italy, than the popes appear to have relaxed of their severity, and to have spared the relics of the Byzantine dominion. The imperial exarch was permitted to reside within the walls of Ravenna rather as a captive than a master; and till the coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exercised in the name of the successors of Constantine.

When the sovereignty of the Greek emperors was extinguished, the ruins of Rome presented the sad image of depopulation and decay. The inhabitants, the offspring of slaves and strangers, were despicable in the eyes of the victorious Barbarians.

barians. "In the name of a Roman," says the bishop Liutprand, "we include whatever is base, whatever is cowardly, whatever is perfidious; the extremes of avarice and luxury, and every vice that can prostitute the dignity of human nature." The Romans, habituated to slavery, beheld with terror their own liberty, the effect of superstition. By the necessity of their situation, they were cast into the rough model of a republican government; they were compelled to elect some judges in peace, and leaders in war; the nobles assembled to deliberate, and their resolves could not be executed without the union and consent of the multitude. The stile of the Roman senate was revived; and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the bishop; his recent services, and their gratitude, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate or prince of the city; and he transferred to the popes, his successors, the noblest title, the free choice of a people delivered from slavery.

The Lombards had early been tempted by the wealth and disorders of Italy; their monarch Liutprand, as the champion of the holy images, had invaded the province of Romagna; the catholics of the exarchate yielded to his power, and the gates of Ravenna were opened to his arms. But that city was speedily recovered by
the

the maritime forces of the Venetians; and the Greeks uniting soon after with the Barbarians in an unnatural alliance, the king of the Lombards and the exarch marched to the conquest of Spoleto and Rome. The storm however was diverted; yet Italy was continually alarmed by Liutprand, with the vexatious alternative of hostility and truce. By his successor Astolphus, Ravenna was subdued; and Rome was summoned to acknowledge the victorious Lombard as her lawful sovereign. The Romans hesitated; they entreated; they complained; and the sword of the Barbarians was suspended by the arts of negotiation, till the popes had engaged the friendship of an ally, and an avenger beyond the Alps.

Gregory the First, in his distress, had implored the aid of the hero of the age, Charles Martel, who governed the French monarchy with the humble title of mayor or duke; but the greatness of his occupations prevented Charles from interfering in the affairs of Italy, except by an ineffectual mediation. His son Pepin assumed the office of champion of the Roman church; he listened to the representations of Stephen the Third, who in person had passed the Alps to
A. D. 754. solicit his friendship and support. The return of the successor of St. Peter, was facilitated by a French army, led by the king in person.

son. The Lombard, after a weak resistance, obtained an ignominious peace; which was violated by Astolphus the moment he was delivered from the formidable presence of the Franks. Rome was again encompassed by his arms, and again delivered by a second expedition of Pepin. Astolphus was taught the lessons of justice and sincerity from the scourge of a foreign master; and the Lombards, after this chastisement, languished twenty years in a state of gradual decay. But their minds were not humbled to their condition; they repeated their vexatious inroads; and, on either side, their expiring monarchy was pressed by the zeal and prudence of pope Adrian, and by the genius and fortune of Charlemagne, the son of Pepin. The passes of the Alps were surprized, and the walls of Pavia were invested. After a blockade of two years, De-
A. D. 774.
 fiderius, the last of their native
 princes, surrendered his capital; and the Lombards, left in possession of their national laws, became the brethren rather than the subjects of the Franks.

The essential rewards of the popes to the Carolingian race for their aid, were the dignities of king of France, and of patrician of Rome. The powers of royalty were exercised by Pepin, mayor of the palace; but the regal title was still attached to Childeric, the last descendant of Clovis. The

mayor and the nobles were bound by an oath of fidelity to the royal phantom. Their common ambassadors addressed the Roman pontiff to absolve their promise. The interest of pope Zachary prompted him to decide, that the nation might lawfully unite in the same person, the title and authority of king; and that the unfortunate Childeric should be degraded, shaved, and confined in a monastery for the remainder of his days. The answer was agreeable to the wishes of the Franks; the Merovingian race disappeared; Pepin was exalted on a buckler by the free suffrage of the people; the Franks were absolved from their oath; but a dire anathema was thundered against them if they renewed the freedom of choice, except in the meritorious race of the Carolingian princes.

The supreme magistrate of Italy, after it was recovered by the arms of Justinian, had been indifferently styled the exarch or patrician. After the revolt of Italy, and the loss of the exarchate, the senate and people successively invested Charles Martel and his posterity with the honours of patrician of Rome. The Roman ambassadors presented these patricians with the keys of the shrine of St. Peter, as a symbol of sovereignty. The power of Charlemagne converted an honorary distinction of alliance into actual authority; in the twenty-six years that elapsed between the conquest

conquest of the Lombards, and his imperial coronation, that prince ruled Rome with as absolute a will as his own kingdom; nor was there any prerogative remaining which the title of the emperor could add to the patrician of Rome.

The gratitude of the Carlovingsians was adequate to these obligations, and the donation of the exarchate was the first fruits of the conquest of Pepin. This splendid donation was granted to the Roman pontiff in supreme and absolute dominion; and the world beheld, for the first time, a Christian bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince. The inhabitants of the duchy of Spoleto, in the dissolution of the Lombard kingdom, voluntarily professed themselves the servants and subjects of St. Peter, and by this surrender completed the present circle of the ecclesiastical state. In the transports of his victory, Charlemagne had despoiled himself and the Greek emperor by a written or verbal donation of the cities and islands which had formerly belonged to the exarchate; but in the cooler moments of reflection, he viewed with jealousy the recent greatness of his ecclesiastical ally. The execution of his own and his father's promises was respectfully eluded, and the king of the Franks and Lombards asserted the inalienable rights of the empire.

Before the end of the eighth century, some apostolic

apostolic scribe composed the decretals and donation of Constantine. According to the legend, that emperor, the first of the Christian princes, was healed of the leprosy, and purified in the waters of baptism by St. Sylvester, the Roman bishop; and the gratitude of the monarch was displayed in his resolution to found a new capital in the East, and to resign to the popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West. Charlemagne was exhorted by Adrian the First, who introduced this memorable donation into the world, to imitate the liberality of Constantine. The popes by this gift were delivered from their debt of gratitude; and the successors of St. Peter and Constantine were invested with the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars. In the twelfth century, the validity of this deed was confuted by the pen of Laurentius Valla; but a false and obsolete title still sanctifies the reign of the pontiffs, who themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar.

A. D. 780. While the popes established in Italy their freedom and dominion, the images, the first cause of their revolt, were restored in the Eastern empire. The fair and ambitious Irene, as soon as she reigned in her own name and that of her son, undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts. A synod, convened at Nice, pronounced, that the worship of the images was agreeable

agreeable to scripture and reason; and the empress Theodora, the widow of Theophilus, established the triumph of the Catholics, and the persecution of the Iconoclasts. But though the Greek emperors had restored the images, they had not restored the estates which had been torn from the successors of St. Peter; and under the reign of the pious Irene, the popes had already consummated the separation of Rome and Italy, by the translation of the empire to Charlemagne. The title of patrician was below the merit and greatness of the son of Pepin; and it was only by reviving the Western empire that they could pay their obligations, or secure their establishment. Leo, the successor of Adrian, placed a precious crown on the head of Charlemagne, who on the festival of Christmas, the last

A. D. 800.
Dec. 25.

year of the eighth century, appeared in the church of St. Peter; the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor of the Romans." The emperor, even in his familiar conversation, protested his ignorance of the intentions of Leo, though the preparations for the ceremony must have disclosed the secret, and the journey of Charlemagne reveals his knowledge and expectation; the imperial title was the ambitious object of a prince whose dominions, East and

West, extended from the Ebro to the Elbe, or Vistula; and between the North and South, from the dutchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. The subjugation of Germany withdrew the veil which had so long concealed the continent or islands of Scandinavia from the knowledge of Europe. The fiercest of the Saxon idolators escaped from the Christian tyrant to their brethren of the North; the Ocean and Mediterranean were covered with their piratical fleets; and Charlemagne beheld with a sigh the destructive progress of the Normans, who, in less than seventy years, precipitated the fall of his race and monarchy. —

A. D. 814. Lewis the Pious survived the other
 840. sons of Charlemagne, and possessed the whole empire of that prince; but that empire, after a destructive war, was divided again by the three sons of Lewis. The kingdoms of Germany and France were separated for ever. The provinces of Gaul, between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine, were assigned with Italy to the imperial dig-
 A. D. 846. nity of Lothaire. In the partition of
 856. his share, Lorraine and Arles, two recent and transitory kingdoms, were bestowed on the younger
 A. D. 856. children; and Lewis the Second, his
 875. eldest son, was content with the realm
 of

of Italy, the proper patrimony of a Roman emperor. On his death, the vacant throne was disputed by his uncles and cousins; and the popes most dexterously seized the opportunity of judging the claims and merits of the candidates. Charles the Fat, the last emperor of the Carolingian race, was deposed on account of insanity, in a diet. According to the measure of their force, the governors, bishops, and lords, usurped the fragments of the falling empire; but their title and possession were alike precarious, and the term of seventy-four years, from the abdication of Charles the Fat, to the establishment of Otho the First, may be deemed a vacancy. A. D. 888.

Otho was of the noble race of the dukes of Saxony; his father Henry the Fowler was elected by the suffrage of the nation, to save and institute the kingdom of Germany. Its limits were enlarged on every side by his son, the first and greatest of the Othos. At the head of a victorious army, he passed the Alps, subdued the kingdom of Italy, delivered the pope, and for ever fixed the imperial crown in the name and nation of Germany. From that memorable æra, two maxims were introduced, and ratified by time. I. That the Prince who was elected in the German diet acquired from that instant the subject kingdoms of Italy and A. D. 962.

Rome. II. But that he might not lawfully assume the titles of emperor and Augustus till he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff.

The Greeks, during the latter part of the reign of Charlemagne, had respectfully saluted him with the title of *Basileus*, and emperor of the Romans. But this tribute of veneration, which was extorted by the virtues and success of that prince, they refused to his feeble posterity. The same claim was asserted under the Othos; but the Byzantine court persisted in their determination not to prostitute to the kings of Germany the title of Roman emperors.

Yet these emperors, in the election of the popes, continued to exercise the powers which had been assumed by the Grecian and Gothic princes. Seven cardinal bishops directed a senate, composed of the most respectable Roman ecclesiastics, most of whom were dignified with the title of cardinals. On the death of the pope, these bishops recommended a successor to the suffrage of the college of cardinals, and their choice was ratified or rejected by the applause or murmurs of the Roman people; but the election was imperfect till the emperor had signified his consent. After a long series of scandal, the apostolic see was reformed and exalted by the austerity and zeal of Gregory the Seventh. That
ambitious

ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects. I. To fix in the college of cardinals the sole right of election. II. To bestow and resume the Western empire as a fief of the church, and to extend his temporal dominion over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. The first of the designs was accomplished by the firm support of the ecclesiastical order; but the second attempt was vigorously resisted by the secular power, and finally extinguished by the improvement of reason.

The German Cæsars had long been ambitious to enslave the kingdom of Italy; but their patrimonial estates were stretched along the Rhine, or scattered through distant provinces; and this domain was alienated by the imprudence or distress of successive princes; their revenue, from minute and vexatious prerogative, was scarcely sufficient for the maintenance of their household. Their troops were formed by the voluntary service of their feudal vassals, who passed the Alps with reluctance, and capriciously deserted before the end of the campaign. In the Italian cities, a municipal government was never totally abolished; and in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, the flame of freedom and industry was rekindled by the Lombards. Each city filled the measure of her diocese and district. The jurisdiction of the bishops,

the marquisses, and the counts, was banished from the republics of Tuscany. The legislative authority was inherent in the general assembly; but the executive powers were entrusted to three consuls, annually chosen from the three orders of *captains*, *valvassors*, and *commons*, into which the republic was divided. Under the protection of equal law, the labours of agriculture and commerce were gradually revived; and the invincible spirit of liberty prevailed over the attempts of the two Frederics, the greatest and most renowned princes of the middle age.

A. D. 1150. Frederic the First had invaded the
 1192. republics of Lombardy with art, valour, and cruelty; the obstinate cities were reduced by the terror or force of his arms; and Milan was razed to the ground by the inflexible conqueror. But that city soon rose from her ashes; the cause of Lombardy was espoused by pope Alexander the Third, the Greek emperor, and the republic of Venice. Frederic was compelled, in the treaty of Constance, to subscribe the freedom of twenty-four cities, and the fabric of oppression was overturned in a day. His
 A. D. 1198. grandson, Frederic the Second, was
 1250. recommended by his birth and education to the Italians; his father, Henry the Sixth, had united to the empire the kingdoms of Naples and of Sicily; from these hereditary realms
 the

the son derived an ample and ready supply of troops and treasure ; yet Frederic the Second was finally oppressed by the arms of the Lombards, and the thunders of the vatican ; his kingdom was given to a stranger, and the last of his family was beheaded at Naples on a public scaffold.

After the death of Frederic the Second, a crowd of princes and prelates disputed the ruins of the empire. A. D. 1250. The lords of innumerable castles assumed a state of independence ; but the union of the Germans produced at length, under the name of an empire, a great free system of a fœderative republic. The institution of diets kept alive the national spirit ; and the powers of a common legislature are still exercised by the three colleges, of the electors, the princes, and the free and imperial cities of Germany. I. The electors were composed of seven of the most powerful feudatories, who assumed the privilege of choosing the Roman emperor. These were the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the three archbishops of Mentz, of Treves, and of Cologne. II. The college of princes and prelates delivered themselves from a promiscuous multitude, and reduced the long series of independent counts to four representative votes. III. The commons were introduced as the third branch of

the legislature ; the Hanseatic league commanded the trade and navigation of the North ; the confederates of the Rhine secured the intercourse of the inland country ; the influence of these cities has been adequate to their wealth and policy ; and their negative still invalidates the acts of the two superior colleges of electors and princes.

In the fourteenth century, the Roman empire of Germany no longer held, except on the borders of the Rhine and Danube, a single province of Trajan or Constantine. The Roman pontiffs, who in exile or captivity, at Avignon, affected the dominion of the earth, bestowed on Charles the Fourth, of Bohemia, the promise of the vacant empire. The death of his competitors united the electoral college, and Charles was unanimously saluted king of the Romans, and future emperor. But this title described little more than the elective and impotent magistrate of an aristocracy of princes ; and his best prerogative was the right of presiding and proposing in the national senate, which was convened at his summons. The gold of Italy secured the election of his son ; but such was the
A. D. 1355.
shameful poverty of the Roman emperor, that his person was arrested in the streets of Worms, and was detained in the public inn as a pledge for the payment of his expences.

Yet

A.D. 1356. Yet the apparent majesty of the same emperor in the diet may well excite our astonishment and admiration. The domestic service of the palace was performed by the hereditary great officers, the seven electors, who in rank and title were equal to kings. The seals of the triple kingdom were borne in state by the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the perpetual arch-chancellors of Germany, Italy, and Arles. The great marshal regulated the order of the guests. The great steward, the count palatine of the Rhine, placed the dishes on the table. The great chamberlain, the margrave of Brandenburg, presented the golden ewer and basin to wash. And the king of Bohemia, as cup-bearer, was represented by the emperor's brother, the duke of Luxemburgh. Nor was the supremacy of the emperor confined to Germany; the hereditary monarchs of Europe confessed the pre-eminence of his rank and dignity; to his person the title of majesty was long appropriated; and he disputed with the pope the prerogative of creating kings and assembling councils.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DESCRIPTION OF ARABIA AND ITS INHABITANTS—
BIRTH, CHARACTER, AND DOCTRINE OF MAHO-
MET—HE PREACHES AT MECCA—FLIES TO
MEDINA—PROPAGATES HIS RELIGION BY
THE SWORD—VOLUNTARY OR RELUCTANT
SUBMISSION OF THE ARABS—HIS DEATH
AND SUCCESSORS—THE CLAIMS AND
FORTUNES OF ALI, AND HIS DE-
SCENDANTS.

DURING the reign of Heraclius, the doctrines and victories of Mahomet rapidly engaged the public attention, and the genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and the spirit of his religion, involve the causes of the decline and fall of the Roman empire.

The Arabian peninsula contains the vacant space between Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Æthiopia; and the entire surface of it exceeds in a four-fold proportion that of Germany, or France; but the far greater part of it has properly acquired

quired the epithets of the *stony* and the *sandy*. In the dreary waste, a boundless level of sand is intersected by sharp and naked mountains. The winds diffuse a noxious, and even deadly vapour; the hillocks of sand which they alternately raise and scatter, have buried whole caravans, and even armies; destitute of navigable rivers, the refreshment of water is precariously to be enjoyed by the Arabian traveller; and a scanty supply of rain is collected for his use in cisterns and aqueducts. But the high lands that border on the Indian ocean are distinguished by their superior plenty; wood and water freely present themselves; the air is more temperate; the fruits more delicious; the animals and the human race more numerous; the peculiar gifts of frankincense and coffee have attracted, in different ages, the merchants of the world; and this part of the peninsula, contrasted with the *stony* and the *sandy*, has been honoured with the epithet of *happy*. But this nominal division is unknown to the Arabs themselves; and a country, whose language and inhabitants have ever been the same, scarcely retains a vestige of its ancient geography. The districts of *Babrein* and *Oman* are opposed to the realm of Persia; *Yemen* displays the situation of Arabia Fœlix; and the province of *Hejaz*, along the coast of the Red Sea, has been rendered illustrious by the birth of Mahomet.

Along

Along the shores of the Persian Gulf, of the Ocean, and even of the Red Sea, the *Ichthyophagi*, or fish eaters, wandered in quest of their precarious food; but in an early period of antiquity, the great body of the Arabs emerged from this scene of primitive misery, and rose at once to the more secure and plentiful condition of the pastoral life. The same life has been uniformly pursued; and in the portraits of the modern *Bedoweens*, we may trace the manners of their ancestors, who in the age of Moses, or Mahomet, conducted their horses, their camels, and sheep, to the same springs and the same pastures. The Bedoweens preserve, with superstitious care, the breed and pedigree of the horse; and in the opinion of the naturalist, the genuine and original country of that noble animal, is Arabia. The utility of the camel assigns to that beast the second rank in estimation; strong and patient, these creatures are capable of performing, without eating or drinking, a journey of several days; and almost every part, alive or dead, is serviceable to man. The milk is plentiful and nutritious; the young and tender flesh has the taste of veal; a valuable salt is extracted from the urine; the dung supplies the deficiency of fuel; and the long hair, which falls each year, and is renewed, is coarsely manufactured into the garments, the furniture, and the tents of the Bedoweens.

Many

Many of the Arabian tribes were collected into towns, and employed in the labours of trade and agriculture; these still devoted a part of their time and industry to the management of their cattle, and mingled, in peace and war, with their brethren of the Desert. Forty-two cities of Arabia are enumerated by Abulfeda; but the lustre of the more ancient was eclipsed by the prophetic glories of MEDINA and MECCA, near the Red Sea, and at the distance of two hundred and seventy miles from each other. The last of these holy places never exceeded the size and populousness of Marseilles; but the fame and spirit of the Koreishites, who reigned in Mecca, were conspicuous among the Arabian tribes; their rocky soil refused indeed the labours of agriculture, but their position was favourable to trade: only forty miles from the sea-port of Gedda, and almost at an equal distance from Yemen and Syria, the lucrative traffic of the Koreishites diffused plenty and riches through the streets of Mecca, and the profession of merchandize was united with the love of arms.

The transient dominion obtained by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the sultans of Egypt, and the Turks over the kingdom of Yemen, has not precluded the Arabs from the praise of perpetual independence; a shadow of jurisdiction is at present exercised by the Ottoman Porte; but the
sultan

sultan is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people, whom it would be dangerous to provoke. The character and country of the Arabs display the obvious causes of their freedom; the patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life. The care of the sheep and camels is abandoned to the women of the tribe; and the martial youth is ever on horseback, and in the field, to practise the exercise of the bow, the javelin, and the scymetar; their horses and camels, which, in eight or ten days, can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, disappear before a conqueror; the secret waters of the Desert elude his search; and his victorious troops are consumed with thirst, hunger, and fatigue. When Mahomet erected his holy standard, the kingdom of Yemen was a province of the Persian empire; yet seven princes of the Homerites still reigned in the mountains; and from Mecca to the Euphrates, the Arabian tribes were confounded by the Greeks and Latins, under the general appellation of SARACENS.

The dignities of sheich and emir, in every tribe, is appropriated to a particular family, and invariably descend in this chosen race; but the order of succession is loose and precarious; and the most worthy, or aged, of the kinsmen, are preferred to the office, of composing disputes by
their

their advice, and guiding valour by their example; even the females are allowed their claim; and the reign of Mavia is famous in ecclesiastical story. The softer natives of Yemen supported the pomp and majesty of a monarch; and the cities of Mecca and Medina present the substance of a commonwealth; the grandfather of Mahomet, and his lineal ancestors, appear to have exercised a degree of regal authority; but they reigned by the opinion of their wisdom and integrity; their influence was divided with their patrimony; and the sceptre was transferred from the uncles of the prophet to a younger branch of the tribe of Koreish.

The Arabs pretend, that in the division of the earth, the rich and fertile climates were assigned to the other branches of the human family, and that the posterity of Ismael might recover, by fraud or force, the portion of inheritance, of which he had been unjustly deprived. If a Bedoween discovers a solitary traveller, he rides furiously against him, crying, with a loud voice, "Undress thyself, thy aunt (*my wife*) is without a garment;" and mercy is the result of ready submission, but the death of the aggressor would be avenged by the rest of the tribe. Among the Arabs, the honour of their women, and their *beards*, is most easily wounded; an indecent action, a contemptuous word, can be expiated only

by the blood of the offender; and such is their patient inveteracy, that they will wait whole months and years the opportunity of revenge.

Though the Arabians were ignorant of the arts of grammar, of metre, and of rhetoric, their penetration was sharp, their fancy luxuriant, their wit strong and sententious; and the genius and merit of a rising poet was celebrated by the applause of his own, and the kindred tribes; their generosity disclaimed the narrow measure of discretion and experience; and the hospitality which was practised by Abraham, and is immortalized by Homer, is still renewed in the camps of the Arabs. The ferocious Bedoween received the stranger, who confides in his honour, and who enters, without hesitation, his tent, with a sincere embrace, and with affectionate attention. The character of Hatem is the perfect model of Arabian virtue; he was brave and liberal; an eloquent poet and successful robber; forty camels were roasted at his hospitable feasts; and at the prayer of a suppliant enemy, he restored both the captives and the spoil.

The Arabs confined their religion to the worship of the sun, the moon, and the fixed stars; Though each independent warrior might change the object of his fantastic devotion, yet the nation has always acknowledged the religion, as well as language, of Mecca. The genuine antiquity of
the

the CAABA ascends beyond the Christian æra; a tent, or cavern, might suffice for the worship of the savages; but an edifice of stone has been erected in its place; and the art and power of the monarchs of the East have been confined to the simplicity of the original model. The tribe of Koreish had acquired the custody of the CAABA: the sacerdotal office devolved, through four lineal descents, to the grandfather of Mahomet; and the family of the Hashemites, from whom he sprung, was the most respectable in the country.

The same rites, which are now accomplished by the faithful Mussulman, were invented and practised by the superstition of the ancient idolators; and the use of sacrifices, which has so generally prevailed, expressed the gratitude of the Arab to his Gods; but his zeal too frequently considered the life of man as the most precious oblation; and this cruel practice was preserved by the tribe of the Dumatians, as late as the third century. The custom of circumcision had early existed among them; and has been silently transmitted to their posterity and proselytes, without the censure or the precept of the koran.

The Jews were settled in Arabia seven hundred years before the death of Mahomet: their numbers were increased by the multitude expelled by Titus and Hadrian; they erected synagogues in the cities, and castles in the Wilderness; and

their Gentile converts were confounded with the children of Israel, whom they resembled in the outward mark of circumcision. The persecution of the sectaries by the catholics, induced the oppressed to retire beyond the limits of the Roman empire; and the doctrines of Christianity were propagated in the churches of Yemen; the Arabs were taught to believe the existence of one supreme God; the most rational acknowledged his power, though they neglected his worship; and it was habit rather than conviction, that still attached them to the relics of idolatry. In the story of the Hebrew patriarchs, they were pleased to discover the fathers of their nation; they applauded the birth and promises of Ismael; revered the virtue of Abraham; and traced his pedigree, and their own, to the creation of the first man.

Mahomet, or more properly Mohammed, sprung from the tribe of Koreish, and the family of Hاشم, the only son of Abdallah and Amina; he was born at Mecca, four years after the death of Justinian. In his early infancy he was deprived of his father and mother; and his numerous uncles reduced the share of the orphan's inheritance to five camels, and an *Aethiopian* maid-servant. His uncle, Abu Taleb, was the guardian of his youth; in his twenty-fifth year, he entered into the service of Cadijah, a rich widow

widow of Mecca, who soon bestowed upon him her hand and fortune. By this alliance, the son of Abdallah was restored to the station of his ancestors; and continued in the practice of domestic virtue till, in the fortieth year of his age, he assumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the koran.

The personal beauty of Mahomet is established by the tradition of his companions; and in the familiar offices of life, he adhered to the grave and ceremonious politeness of his country. His memory was capacious and retentive; his wit easy and social; his imagination sublime; his judgment clear, rapid, and decisive. He was educated in the use of the purest dialect of Arabia; and the fluency of his speech was corrected and enhanced by the practice of discreet and seasonable silence: but these powers of eloquence were contrasted with an illiterate mind; and the youth of Mahomet had never been instructed in the arts of reading and writing. The two journeys he had undertaken into Syria, were confined to the fairs of Bosra and Damascus; in the first, when he accompanied his uncle, he was only thirteen years of age; and in the second, his duty compelled him to return when he had disposed of the merchandize of Cadijah. From his earliest youth, Mahomet was addicted to religious contemplation; each year, during the month of

Ramadan, he withdrew to the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca ; and at length delivered, under the name of *Islam*, that faith, which is compounded of an eternal truth, and a necessary fiction, THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD, AND THAT MAHOMET IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.

In the koran, the penetration of the Arabian prophet has rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle, that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, and that whatever is corruptible, must decay and perish. Sagacious and discerning in his enthusiasm, he confessed and adored in the Author of the universe an infinite being, without form or place, without issue or similitude ; and the koran remains a glorious testimony of the unity of God.

The liberality of Mahomet has allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, are proclaimed the fix legislators, who have announced to mankind the fix successive revelations of various rites, but of one immutable religion. In authority they rise in just gradation above each other ; but whoever hates, or rejects, any one of the prophets, is numbered with the infidels.

According to Mahomet and his disciples, the substance of the koran is uncreated and eternal. The
chapters

chapters and verses were successively revealed by the angel Gabriel to the Arabian prophet. These were produced at the discretion of Mahomet; each revelation accorded with his policy or passion; and the danger of contradiction is precluded by the maxim, that the subsequent texts abrogate the former. The word of God, and of the apostle, was diligently collected by his disciples; the pages, as they were inscribed, were thrown, without order, into a chest; and that chest was entrusted to the custody of one of his wives. Two years after the death of Mahomet, the sacred volume was published by his successor Abubeker; and in the thirtieth year of the Hegira, the work was revised by the caliph Othman. The sayings and actions of the prophet had been preserved by his wives and companions; and at the end of two hundred years, the *sonna*, or oral law, was fixed by the labours of Al Bochari, who selected, from a mass of three hundred thousand reports, seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five as genuine traditions.

As often as the Arabian prophet was pressed to give some sign of his miraculous powers, his answers were expressive of weakness and vexation; and he involved himself in the obscure boast of vision and prophecy. Yet the credulity of the vulgar has recorded a long list of his spiritual exploits. Trees went forth to meet him;

stones saluted him; a beam groaned to him; a camel complained to him; and a shoulder of mutton informed him of its being poisoned; but these legends, though received by the undiscerning multitude, have been arraigned, or disregarded, by the gravest of the Mussulman doctors, who imitate the modesty of their master, and indulge a latitude of faith, or interpretation.

Prayer, fasting, and alms, are inculcated by Mahomet as the religious duties of a Mussulman; he is encouraged to hope that prayer will carry him half way to God; fasting will bring him to the door of his palace; and alms will gain him admittance. I. The faithful acknowledge the daily obligation of five prayers, without any dispensation of business or pleasure, or time or place; at day-break, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and at the first watch of night, their devotion is repeated, and the eyes of the Mussulman is turned towards Mecca. Yet every spot for the service of God is equally pure; and the Mahometan may indifferently pray in his chamber, or the street; Friday, in each week, is set apart for religious worship; the people assemble in the mosch; and some respectable elder from the pulpit, begins the prayer, and pronounces the sermon. II. Though Mahomet rejected the voluntary penance of the Ascetics, and firmly declared that he would have no monks in his

his religion, yet he instituted in each year a fast of thirty days; during the month of Ramadan, the Mussulman abstains, from the rising to the setting of the sun, from all nourishment that can restore his strength, and from all pleasure that can gratify his senses; and the constant and perpetual interdiction of wine, is delivered as a positive and general law by the Arabian prophet. III. The koran commands, as a strict and indispensable duty, the relief of the indigent and unfortunate; even the precise measure of charity is defined; and the Mussulman does not fulfil the law, unless he bestows the *tenth* part of his revenue; and if his conscience accuses him of fraud, or extortion, that proportion is encreased to a *fifth*.

In the idiom of the koran, the belief of God is inseparable from that of Mahomet; the good works are those which he has enjoined; and the two qualifications imply the profession of Islam. The infidels are punished according to the degree of evidence they have rejected, and the true believers only will be judged by their actions; the innocent, treading in the steps of Mahomet, will enjoy the groves and fountains of paradise; and seventy-two hours, or black-eyed girls, of resplendent beauty, will be created for the use of the meanest believers, while the guilty will fall into the first and mildest of the seven hells; but the joys of

the Mahometan paradise are not confined to the indulgence of appetite; and it is declared, all meaner happiness will be despised by the saints, who are admitted to the beatitude of vision.

A. D. 609. The first proselytes of Mahomet were Cadijah his wife; Zeid his servant; Ali, his pupil, and the son of Abu Taleb; and Abubeker his friend. In the silent labours of three years, the number was increased to fourteen; in the fourth year, he assumed the prophetic office; and at a banquet, prepared for forty of the race of Hassem, he proffered to his guests, the treasures of this world, and the world to come; "God has commanded me," said Mahomet, "to call you to his service; who among you will support my burthens? who among you will be my companion and vizir?" The silence of the assembly was broken by the impatient courage of Ali, then only in the fourteenth year of his age. "O prophet, I am the man; whosoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly! O prophet, I will be thy vizir over them!" The offer was accepted with transport; and the religion, which has overspread the East and West, for ten years advanced by slow and painful steps within the walls of Mecca.

To the strangers of every tribe, Mahomet urged,

urged, in the Caaba, which he frequented on solemn festivals, the belief and worship of a sole Deity; he was answered by the clamours of Abu Taleb—"Citizens and pilgrims, listen not to the tempter, hearken not to his impious novelties; stand fast in the worship of Al Lâta and Al Uzza." Yet the aged chief still protected his nephew against the assaults of the Koreishites, who had long been jealous of the pre-eminence of the family of Hassem; the piety, or envy, of that tribe engaged them to renounce all intercourse with the children of Hassem, and to pursue them with implacable enmity, till they should deliver the person of Mahomet to the justice of the Gods. The prophet had retired to various places of strength in the town and country; and the death of Abu Taleb abandoned him to the rage of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived of his domestic comforts by the loss of his faithful Cadijah. Abu Sophian, the chief of the branch of Ommiyah, a zealous votary of idols, a mortal foe of the family of Hassem, succeeded to the principality of the republic of Mecca. The death of Mahomet was resolved; but the conspiracy was revealed; the Arabian prophet, at the dead of night, accompanied by his friend Abubeker, silently escaped from his house; the assassins were deceived by the figure of Ali, who reposed on the bed, and was covered

covered with the green vestments of the apostle; the fugitives with difficulty reached Medina; and the flight of Mahomet from Mecca has fixed the memorable æra of the hegira, which still discriminates the lunar years of the Mahometan nations. A. D. 622.

Some citizens of Medina, on a pilgrimage to the Caaba, were converted by the preaching of Mahomet; on their return, they diffused the belief of God and the prophet; and they had already promised, in an interview near Mecca, to receive him, if banished, as their confederate, and to defend him as their leader. The profession of Islam became general throughout Medina; the inhabitants rejoiced in the exile, and impatiently expected the arrival of the prophet. Five hundred of the citizens advanced to meet him, and he was hailed with acclamations of loyalty and devotion; his scattered disciples assembled round his person; and among the Moslems, the fugitives of Mecca, and the auxiliaries of Medina, were distinguished by the various names of Mohagerians and Ansars; but the prudence of Mahomet eradicated the seeds of jealousy, and the two parties vied with each other in a generous emulation of courage and fidelity.

From his establishment at Medina, Mahomet assumed the exercise of the regal and sacerdotal office; he erected a house and mosch on a small spot

spot of ground, the patrimony of two orphans; his seal was inscribed with the apostolic title; and in six years fifteen hundred Moslems renewed their oath of allegiance. The deputy of Mecca was astonished by the attention of the faithful to the words and looks of the prophet. "I have seen," said he, "the Chosroes of Persia, and the Cæsar of Rome, but never did I behold a king among his subjects like Mahomet among his companions."

By the choice of an independent people, the son of Abdallah was exalted to the rank of a sovereign, and invested with the prerogative of forming alliances, and of waging war. The means of persuasion had been tried, and he now was commanded to propagate his religion by the sword, to destroy the monuments of idolatry, and to pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth. The option of friendship, of submission, or battle, was proposed to the enemies of the prophet; and if they professed the creed of Islam, they were admitted to the temporal and spiritual benefits of his primitive disciples, and marched under the same banner to extend the religion they had embraced. The distribution of the spoil, was regulated by a divine law; a fifth was reserved by the prophet for pious and charitable uses, and the remainder was shared in adequate portions by the soldiers; the rewards of
the

the slain devolved on their widows and orphans; and cavalry was allured by a double share for man and horse; but these temporal advantages were feeble compared to the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. "The sword," says Mahomet, "is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer; whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven. At the day of judgment, his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odorous as myrrh; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and of cherubims." To this glowing picture of future rewards, the koran adds the persuasive tenets of fate and predestination; and the first companions of Mahomet advanced undauntedly to meet that death which they believed it impossible to shun.

The Koreish might have been content with the flight of Mahomet, had they not been alarmed for the safety of their Syrian trade; to preserve this from the depredations of the prophet, one hundred horse, and eight hundred and fifty foot, were assembled; the Moslems consisted of three hundred and thirteen; and as Mahomet, in the famous vale of Beder, beheld the inferiority of his followers, "O God!" he exclaimed, "O God, if these are destroyed, by whom wilt thou

“ thou be worshipped on the earth ? Courage,
“ my children, close your ranks ; discharge your
“ arrows, and the day is your own.” But doubtful of his force, he demanded the succour of Gabriel and three thousand angels ; the Mussulmans fainted and were pressed ; the prophet mounted his horse ; he cast a handful of sand into the air ;
“ Let their faces be covered with confusion.”

A. D. 623. Both armies heard the thunder of his voice ; their fancy beheld the angelic warriors ; and the Koreish trembled and fled. Once more Abu Sophian collected a formidable body of troops ; and at the head of three thousand men, advanced to mount Ohud, six miles north from Medina. The standard of God and Mahomet was upheld by nine hundred and fifty believers, and the weight of their charge broke the centre of the idolaters ; but in their pursuit, they lost the advantage of ground, which they had previously possessed ; their ranks were disordered ; seventy martyrs perished on the field ; and the prophet himself, wounded in the face with a javelin, and two of his teeth shattered with a stone, was conveyed from the scene of tumult and dismay, to a place of safety. Yet the Mussulmans soon rallied in the field ; and the Koreish wanted strength or courage to undertake the siege of Medina. In the ensuing year, it was attacked by an army of ten thousand enemies.

The

The prudence of Mahomet declined a general engagement; the valour of Ali was signalized in single combat; a tempest of wind, rain, and hail overturned the tents of the confederates; and after twenty days, the Koreish, deserted by their allies, relinquished their attempts to check the conquests of the invincible apostle.

The Jews had persevered in refusing their belief to the Arabian prophet; and his implacable hatred seized the occasion of an accidental tumult, and summoned them to embrace his religion, or contend with him in battle. "Alas!" replied the trembling Jews, "we are ignorant of the use of arms; but we persevere in the faith and worship of our fathers; why wilt thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defence?" The unequal conflict was terminated in fifteen days; their wealth was confiscated; and their fortresses throughout Arabia, with Chaibar, the seat of their power, were reduced by the valour of Ali, and the irresistible arms of Mahomet.

The most powerful motives urged Mahomet to visit the city from which he had been banished; a rash promise of success dropped too hastily from the lips of the apostle; the holy banner was unfurled; and seventy camels bedecked for sacrifice preceded the march to Mecca; but no sooner did the son of Abdallah descend into the plain, than the numbers and re-

A. D. 629.

resolution of the Koreish opposed his progress; the intrepid fanatic sunk into a cautious politician; he waved in the treaty his title of apostle of God; concluded with the Koreish a truce for ten years; and stipulated only the privilege of remaining three days in the city to accomplish the rites of pilgrimage; though shame and disappointment covered the Mussulmans, yet the people were edified by the devotion of the prophet; the hostile chiefs were divided, or seduced; and both Caled and Amrou, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, deserted the sinking cause of idolatry.

The submission of the Arabian tribes had swelled the forces of Mahomet; an easy pretence was found to break the recent treaty, and Mecca was suddenly invested by ten thousand of the faithful. The astonished Koreish submitted to their irresistible conqueror; and the victorious exile forgave the guilt, and united the factions of Mecca. Twenty-eight of the inhabitants were slain by the sword of Caled; eleven men and six women only were proscribed by Mahomet; but the three hundred and sixty idols of the Caaba were ignominiously broken; the house of God was purified and adorned; and a perpetual law was enacted, that no unbeliever should dare to set his foot on the territory of the holy city.

Though the greater number of the Arabian tribes had submitted, yet an

A. D. 629.

632.

obstinate

obstinate remnant still adhered to the religion and liberty of their ancestors; four thousand of these advanced with speed to surprise the conqueror; and twelve thousand Mussulmans were for a few minutes routed and dispersed; the prophet, on his white mule, was encompassed with enemies; he attempted to rush against their spears in search of a glorious death; ten of his companions interposed their weapons and their breasts; and three of these fell dead at his feet; but his example animated his troops, and restored the battle; the flying Moslems returned from all sides, and inflicted a merciless revenge on the authors of their disgrace. The victory was succeeded by the demolition of the temples, and the destruction of idols throughout Arabia; and the nation submitted to the God, and the sceptre, of Mahomet.

The rapacious spirit of the Saracens was soon inflamed by their new religion to invade the Roman empire; and the murder of an A. D. 629. envoy afforded a decent pretence for 630. an incursion into Palestine; the holy banner was entrusted to Zeid, and the noblest chiefs served, without reluctance, under the slave of the prophet. In the battle of Muta, the first military action of the Moslems against a foreign enemy, Zeid, with the two next in command, fell in the foremost ranks; but the adverse day was retrieved by Caled the proselyte of Mecca.

His

His skilful evolutions secured either the victory or the retreat of the Saracens ; and his valour entitled him to the appellation he acquired of the *Sword of God*. After the conquest of Mecca, the sovereign of Arabia solemnly proclaimed war against the emperor of the Romans ; the Moslems were discouraged by the difficulties of the enterprize ; they alleged the season of harvest, and the intolerable heat of summer : “ Hell is “ much hotter,” said the indignant prophet. With Abubeker, Othman, and the faithful companions who devoted their lives and fortunes, Mahomet displayed his banner at the head of ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot. The distress of their march through the Desert was aggravated by lassitude and thirst ; and they were reduced to the necessity of drinking the water from the belly of the camel. About ten days journey, an equal distance from Medina and Damascus, Mahomet halted near the fountain of Tabuc, and declined the prosecution of the war beyond that place ; but the active Caled spread around the terror of his name, and the tribes and cities from the Euphrates to Ailah, at the head of the Red Sea, acknowledge the dominion of the prophet.

The strength of Mahomet, till the age of sixty-three years, was equal to the fatigues of his mission ; but during four years, his health declined,

and he seriously believed he was poisoned at Chai-bar by the revenge of a Jewish female. A fever of fourteen days deprived him, at intervals, of the use of his reason; conscious of his danger, he beheld with firmness the approach of death; he enfranchised his slaves; directed the order of his funeral; and moderated the lamentations of his friends. He had asserted, in familiar conversation, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked the permission of the prophet; that permission was granted; and Mahomet immediately fell into the

A. D. 632. agony of dissolution; he reclined his
 June 7. head on the lap of Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, and the best beloved of his wives; and raising his eyes towards the roof of the house, uttered these broken but articulate words: "O God!—pardon my sins—yes;—I
 "come—among my fellow-citizens on high;" and peaceably breathed his last on a carpet on the floor. He was interred on the same spot on which he expired; and the tomb of the prophet at Medina vies in the opinion of the pilgrim with the sanctity of the temple at Mecca.

Though Mahomet, from the indulgence of polygamy, might reasonably expect a numerous progeny, yet his hopes were disappointed. The four sons of Cadjah died in their infancy; and the eleven wives who succeeded to her bed proved barren.

barren in his embraces. Ibrahim, the offspring of Mary, his Egyptian concubine, survived only fifteen months; and of the four daughters by Cadijah, the three eldest were married, and died before their father; but Fatima, the fourth, who possessed his love and confidence, became the wife of her cousin Ali, and the mother of an illustrious progeny.

The vacant throne of Arabia appeared the just recompense of the birth, the alliance, and the character of Ali; he was the chief of the family of Hashem, the son-in-law of Mahomet, and with fervent zeal for the service of the prophet, united the qualifications of a poet, a soldier, and a saint. The son of Abu Taleb might have secured his interest by a solemn declaration of his right; but the dying prophet was besieged by the artful Ayeshah, the daughter of Abubeker, and the enemy of Ali. The companions of the apostle convened an assembly to deliberate on the choice of his successor; the line of Hashem was still hateful to the Koreish; and Omar, suddenly renouncing his own pretensions, declared himself the first subject of the venerable Abubeker. The Hashemites alone declined the oath of fidelity; and their chief for six months maintained in his house a sullen independence; but the death of Fatima, and the decline of his party, subdued the indignant spirit of Ali, and he condescended

to salute and acknowledge the commander of the faithful. After a reign of two years, the aged caliph was summoned by the angel of death. His testament bequeathed the sceptre to the intrepid

A. D. 634. virtue of Omar; and Ali himself, in

July 24. a life of privacy, professed to honour

the worth of his rival. In the tenth year of his reign, Omar received a mortal wound from the hand of an assassin, and devolved on six of the most respectable chiefs the arduous task of electing a commander of the faithful. By these Othman,

A. D. 644. the secretary of Mahomet, was pre-

Nov. 6. ferred; nor was it till after the third

caliph, twenty-four years from the death of Mahomet, that Ali was invested, by the popular choice, with the regal and sacerdotal office.

The religious discord of the friends and enemies of Ali is still maintained in the immortal hatred of the Persians and Turks. The former are branded with the appellation of *Shiites*; they assert, if Mahomet is the apostle, his companion Ali is the vicar, of God; and they execrate the three usurpers who intercepted his indefeasible right to the dignity of Imam and caliph. The *Sonnites*, who may be considered as the orthodox Mussulmans, entertain a more decent opinion. They respect in Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the holy successors of the prophet; but they assign the last and most humble place to the husband

band of Fatima. Yet the feeble temper and declining age of Othman were incapable of sustaining the weight of conquest and of empire; the spirit of discord went forth in the provinces; the esteem and confidence of the Moslems were lost; six weeks was he besieged in his palace; and the assassins, with the brother of Ayesha at their head, pierced the helpless and venerable caliph with a multitude of wounds. A. D. 655.
June. 18.

The tumult was appeased by the inauguration of Ali, who received with the sceptre of Arabia the wealthy kingdoms of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, which had been subdued by the victorious arms of the Saracens.

In the beginning of his reign, Telha and Zobeir, two discontented Arabian chiefs, escaped from Medina, and erected the standard of revolt in Assyria. They were supported by Ayesha, the widow of the prophet, implacable in her hatred to the husband and the posterity of Fatima. The rebels were encountered and defeated by Ali near the walls of Bassora; their leaders were slain; and Ayesha was speedily dismissed by the conqueror to her proper station, the tomb of the prophet. After this victory, the son of Abu Taleb marched against a more formidable rival, Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sophian, who had assumed the title of caliph; and whose claim was supported by the forces of Syria and the interest

of the house of Ommiyah. In the course of ninety skirmishes, Ali displayed his superior character of valour and humanity; his troops were enjoined to spare their flying brethren, and he repeatedly challenged his rival to single combat. But the disobedience of his own party compelled Ali, in the moment of victory, to yield to an insidious compromise; he retreated to Cufa, and the distant provinces of Persia, of Yemen, and of Egypt, were reduced by his crafty rival. The disorders of the church and state inspired three enthusiasts with a desperate resolution; they agreed that the deaths of Ali, of Moawiyah, and of his friend Amrou, the viceroy of Egypt, would restore peace and unity of religion. Each of the assassins chose his victim; but the stroke proved only fatal to Ali. In the mosch of Cufa he received a mortal wound, and expired in the sixty-third year of his age, mercifully recommending to his children, that they would dispatch the murderer by a single stroke.

Abu Sophian had long been the inveterate enemy of Mahomet, and his son now ascended the throne established by the prophet. He negotiated the abdication of Hassan, the eldest son of Ali, who retired without a sigh from the palace of Cufa to an humble cell near the tomb of his grandfather. The change of an elective to an hereditary kingdom, gratified

fied the aspiring wishes of Moawiyah; some Arabs disdained to conceal their murmurs, and four citizens of Medina refused the oath of fidelity; but the designs of the caliph were conducted with vigour and address; and his son Yezid, a feeble and dissolute youth, was proclaimed the commander of the faithful.

On the death of Moawiyah, Hosein, the younger son of Ali, was determined to prosecute his claim against the authority of Yezid. A list was transported from Cufa to Medina of one hundred and forty thousand Moslems, who were eager to draw their sword so soon as he should appear on the banks of the Euphrates. With a feeble retinue of women and children, Hosein traversed the Desert of Arabia; but as he approached the confines of Irak, he was alarmed by the hostile face of the country. Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, had extinguished the first sparks of an insurrection; his small party of friends, consisting only of thirty-two horse and forty foot, were surrounded by a numerous force; but the son of Ali disdained flight, and the fidelity of his friends was preserved to the last. After beholding the death of every one of them, Hosein was himself slain by Shamer, a name ever detestable to the faithful. The sisters and children of Ali were brought in chains before the throne of Damascus, but

A. D. 680.

Yezid preferred the counsels of mercy, and honourably dismissed the mournful family to Medina. The twelve IMAMS, according to the Persian creed, are Ali, Hassan, Hosein, and the lineal descendants of Hosein to the ninth generation. Without arms, or treasures, or subjects, they successively enjoyed the veneration of the people, and provoked the jealousy of the caliphs; their names were often the pretence of sedition and civil war; but they themselves despised the pomp of the world, and devoted their innocent lives to the study and practice of religion. The twelfth surpassed his predecessors in sanctity and self-denial. He concealed himself in a cavern near Bagdad; the time and place of his death are unknown; and the votaries of *Mahadi* believe that he still lives, and that he will appear before the day of judgment to overthrow the tyranny of Dejal, or Antichrist. The adverse fortune of the race of Ali, and the wide extent of the Mussulman empire, allowed an ample scope for every bold impostor who claimed affinity with the holy seed; the sceptre of the Almohades in Spain and Africa, of the Fatimites in Egypt, of the sultans of Yemen, and of the sophis of Persia, has been consecrated by this vague and ambiguous title.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE CONQUEST OF PERSIA, SYRIA, EGYPT, AFRICA,
AND SPAIN, BY THE ARABS AND SARACENS—EM-
PIRE OF THE CALÍPHS, OR SUCCESSORS OF MA-
HOMET—STATE OF THE CHRISTIANS, &c.
UNDER THEIR GOVERNMENT.

THE death of Mahomet was the signal of revolt to the fickle tribes of the Arabs; they were again subdued and united by the sword of Caled, and the prudence of Abubeker. In the province Yemanah, between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia, Moseilama, a powerful chief, had assumed the character of a prophet; he was defeated and slain in a decisive battle by Caled; and the various rebels of Arabia again professed, and more steadfastly held the religion of the koran. But the ambition of the caliphs provided an immediate exercise for the restless spirit of the Saracens; and one hundred years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, the arms of his successors had triumphed from India to the Atlantic Ocean. The various

various and distant provinces which acknowledged their power, may be comprised under the name of I. Persia; II. Syria; III. Egypt; IV. Africa; and V. Spain.

A. D. 632. I. Caled, in the first year of the reign of Abubeker, had advanced to

the banks of the Euphrates, and reduced the cities of Anbar and Hira; but that chief was soon transferred to the Syrian war; and the invasion of Persia was committed to less renowned commanders. The queen Arzema, the sixth of the transient usurpers who had arisen since the death of Chosroes and the retreat of Heraclius, was deposed by the unanimous sentence of the Persian priests and nobles; and the Tiara was placed on the head of Yezdegerd, the grandson of Chosroes. An army of one hundred and twenty thousand Persians, commanded by Rustam, was opposed to thirty thousand Moslems in the plains of Cadefia. In a battle long, various,

and bloody, the Persians were defeated, their general was slain, and the prize of the victorious Mussulmans was the province of Irak or Assyria; the foundation of Bassora, which commands the navigation of the Tigris and the Euphrates, firmly established the conquests of the caliph.

After the victory of Cadefia, Said, the lieutenant of Omar, assaulted and entered the gates of Ctesiphon;

Ctesiphon; the disorderly resistance of the inhabitants gave a keener edge to the sabres of the Moslems, who shouted with religious transport, "This is the white palace of Chosroes! this is the promise of the apostle of God!" The riches of Ctesiphon are described as surpassing the estimate of fancy or numbers; but the Saracens disliked the air and situation of the place, and Omar, by the advice of his general, removed the seat of government to the Western side of the Euphrates, and founded the city of Cufa. In fourteen years the arms of the Moslems penetrated to the shores of the Caspian Sea, and turning to the West, embraced, in the captive provinces of Armenia and Mesopotamia, their victorious brethren of the Syrian army. With equal rapidity they advanced from Ctesiphon along the Tigris and the Gulf; the grandson of Chosroes was nearly surprized among the falling columns of Persepolis, and fled with accelerated haste over the desert of Kirman, to seek an humble refuge on the verge of the Turkish and Chinese power; but a victorious army is insensible of fatigue; the Arabs divided their forces in the pursuit; the caliph Othman promised the government of Chorasan to the first general who should enter that country. The condition was accepted; and the successful leader neither halted nor reposed
till

till his foaming cavalry had tasted the waters of the Oxus.

The flight of Yezdegerd had carried him into Fargana, a fertile province on the Jaxartes. The king of Sarmarcand, with the Turkish tribes of Sogdiana and Scythia, were moved by the lamentations and promises of the fallen monarch. With

A. D. 651. an army of Turks, he returned to conquer the inheritance of his fathers.

The fortunate Moslems, without unsheathing their swords, were the spectators of his ruin and his death. He was oppressed, defeated, and pursued by his Barbarian allies; while he implored, from an insensible rustic, a passage over a river, the last of the Sassanian kings was overtaken and slaughtered by the Turkish cavalry, in the nineteenth year of his unhappy reign.

After the fall of the Persian kingdom, the river Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and the Turks; but this narrow boundary was soon overleaped by the spirit of the Arabs; and a Turkish queen was pursued by one of the governors of Chorasan, beyond the hills of Bochara; but the final conquest of Tranfoxiana was at-

A. D. 710. cheived under the reign of Walid.

The spacious regions between the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Caspian Sea, were reduced by the arms of Catibah to the obedience of the prophet and the caliph; a tribute of two millions

millions of gold was imposed on the infidels; the Turkish arms were driven back to the Desert; and the emperor of China solicited the friendship of the victorious Arabs.

II. No sooner had Abubeker re-
stored unity to the Arabian tribes, A. D. 632.
than he summoned them to the conquest of Syria. The command of the army for that enterprise was delegated to Abu Obeidah, one of the fugitives of Mecca, whose zeal was assuaged by the mildness of his temper; but in the emergencies of war, the soldiers demanded the superior genius of Caled; and this undaunted warrior obeyed, without reluctance, and professed his readiness to serve under the banner of the faith, though it were in the hands of a child, or an enemy. Bosra, situated in that part of Syria which the Roman vanity had decorated with the name of Arabia, was encompassed by the arms of the Moslems, and betrayed by the apostacy, or perfidy, of the governor, who renounced his own faith, to embrace the profession of Islam. From Bosra to Damascus is only four days journey; and the ancient capital of Syria was soon besieged by the Arabs. The citizens had been lately reinforced by five thousand Greeks; and the personal prowess of Caled was signalized in the first sally of the besieged. He had overthrown and made prisoner, after an obstinate

obstinate combat, one of the Christian leaders ; and mounting a fresh horse, he pushed forward to the front of the battle ; “ repose yourself for “ a moment,” said his friend Derar, “ and permit me to supply your place ; you are fatigued “ with fighting with this dog.” “ O Derar !” replied the indefatigable Saracen, “ we shall rest “ in the world to come. He that labours to-day, shall rest to-morrow.” With the same unabated ardour he answered and vanquished a second champion ; and the heads of his two captives, who refused to abandon their religion, were indignantly hurled into Damascus.

The danger of that city aroused the exertions of Heraclius ; an army of seventy thousand veterans was assembled under his general Werdan ; and the Arabian leaders, sensible of the importance of the contest, required the junction of their brethren dispersed on the frontiers of Syria and Palestine ; and raised the siege of Damascus to give battle to the forces of the emperor : at Aiznadin forty-five thousand Moslems were assembled ; and among these was Amrou, the future conqueror of Egypt. Though they rejected the offer of the Greeks, who would have purchased their departure at a liberal price, yet those who, in Persia, had seen the armies of Chosroes, confessed the more formidable appearance of the Grecian host ; but the spirit of Caled
animated

animated his companions; in two successive engagements he sustained the fury of the enemy; and at length he gave the signal of onset and victory. The remains of the imperial army fled to Antioch, Cæsarea, or Damascus; and the death of four hundred and seventy Moslems was compensated by the opinion, that they had sent to hell above fifty thousand infidels.

The inhabitants of Damascus beheld with terror the return of the victors of Aiznadin; but the fainting spirit of the garrison was revived by Thomas, a noble Greek, illustrious in a private condition by the alliance of Heraclius. He sallied boldly from the walls; and though wounded by the arrow of a female archer, yet the generous champion of Damascus refused to withdraw to his palace, and his wound was dressed on the ramparts. The fight was continued till the evening, and the Syrians rested on their arms; in the silence of the night, a signal was given by a stroke on the great bell; the seven gates of Damascus were again thrown open; and each gate discharged an impetuous column on the sleeping camp of the Saracens: but the valour and victory of Thomas was checked by the presence of Calid; "O God!" exclaimed the chief, as he flew to the post of danger, "O God, who never sleepest, look upon thy servants, and do not deliver

“ deliver them into the hands of their enemies.”

The flame of enthusiasm was kindled by his example; the Moslems recovered their ranks; and the Christian hero, after the loss of thousands, retired, with a sigh of despair, within the walls of Damascus.

The patience of the citizens was near exhausted by a siege of seventy days; an hundred of their deputies were introduced into the tent of Abu Obeidah, and dismissed, with an agreement, that the voluntary emigrants might depart with as much as they could carry away of their effects; and that the tributary subjects of the caliph should enjoy, with their lands and houses, the use and possession of seven churches; but at the moment that the nearest gate was delivered into the hands of the Arabian chief, the opposite quarter was surprised by Caled. The sword of that ferocious leader was reluctantly sheathed by the superior authority of Abu Obeidah; a large majority of the people accepted the terms of toleration and tribute; but the valiant Thomas, with the patriots who had fought under his banner, embraced the alternative of poverty and exile. In an adjacent meadow a feeble encampment was formed of soldiers and citizens, of women and children; and the inflexible Caled as he beheld their distress, augmented it, by the stern declaration, that
after

after a respite of three days, they might be pursued and treated as the enemies of the Moslems.

It is possible that the sanguinary ardour of Caled, who was confined four days to the city by the obligation of the treaty, and the cares of his new conquest, would have been extinguished by the distance of the fugitives, had it not been fanned by the passion of a Syrian youth. Jonas, a nobleman of Damascus, was betrothed to a wealthy maiden; their nuptials were delayed by her parents; and Eudocia was persuaded to escape with the man whom she had chosen; in this attempt, Jonas was intercepted by the Arabs, but his mistress effected her return. The captive lover embraced the profession of Islam, and when the city was taken, presented himself before Eudocia; but the apostate was rejected; and his importunities now stimulated Caled to the pursuit of the unhappy exiles. At the head of four thousand horse, the Arabian chief, with his enamoured proselyte, traversed the ridges of the Libanus, and encountered difficulties which could only be surmounted by enthusiasm, or love. At length the Christians were overtaken; the promiscuous multitude, already vanquished by fatigue and sorrow, were suddenly assaulted; and except a captive that was dismissed, the Arabs enjoyed the satisfaction of believing that not a Christian of either sex escaped the edge of their

scymetars. In the tumult of the battle, Jonas fought and found the object of his pursuit; but her resentment was inflamed by the last act of his perfidy; and as Eudocia struggled in his hateful embraces, she struck a dagger to her heart. In this enterprize, Caled had penetrated above an hundred and fifty miles into the midst of the Roman province, and he returned to Damascus with the same secrecy and speed.

From Damascus, the Saracens proceeded to Heliopolis and Emesa; and though
 A. D. 635. the conquest of the plain and valley of Syria was atchieved in less than two years, yet the commander of the faithful reproved the slowness of their progress. The emperor had already collected a second army more numerous than the first. Fourscore thousand soldiers were transported by land, or sea, to Antioch and Cæsarea; sixty thousand Christian Arabs, of the tribe of Gassan, marched under the banner of Jabalah, the last of their princes. The command of the Moslems was resigned, by the modesty of Abu Obeidah, to the superior merit of Caled; and his exhortation to his followers was brief and forcible. "Paradise is before you; the
 "devil and hell-fire in your rear." Yet the
 A. D. 636. veterans of Syria acknowledged that
 November. the battle of Yermuk was the hardest of the days they had seen. Four thousand and
 thirty

thirty of the Moslems were buried in the field; but of the Greeks and the Syrians many thousands fell by the swords of the Arabs; many were slaughtered in the adjacent woods and mountains; and many, by mistaking the ford, were drowned in the waters of the Yermuk. The Roman army no longer appeared in the field; and Jerusalem was soon after invested, on every side, by the force of Abu Obeidah. For four months the Christians sustained the incessant assaults of the besiegers; but their strength was exhausted; and the patriarch Sempronius proposed a fair capitulation, with the extraordinary clause, that the articles should be ratified by the authority and presence of the caliph Omar. The commander of the faithful accepted the condition; and the journey of the conqueror of Persia and Syria, was performed with primæval simplicity. He was mounted on a red camel, which carried, besides his person, a bag of corn, a bag of dates, a wooden dish, and a leathern bottle of water. After signing the capitulation, he entered the city without fear or precaution; his prompt return to the tomb of the apostle relieved the jealous fears of Medina, lest the caliph might be detained by the sanctity of Jerusalem, or the beauty of Damascus.

A. D. 637.

The castle of Aleppo for five months exercised

erced, and almost exhausted the patience of the Saracens; it was at length surpris'd by Dames, an Arabian of servile birth, but of gigantic size and intrepid resolution. Antioch A. D. 638. trembled at the approach of the victors; her safety was ransom'd by three hundred thousand pieces of gold; but the seat of the Roman government in the East was degraded, under the yoke of the caliphs, to the secondary rank of a provincial town. The mind of Heraclius was astonish'd at the rapid success of the disciples of Mahomet; the weakness of his declining years clouded the glory of his Persian triumphs; bidding an eternal farewell to Syria, he secretly embarked, with a few attendants, and absolved the faith of his subjects. The remainder of the province no longer disputed the will of the conqueror, and Syria bowed under the sceptre of the caliphs seven hundred years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings. The triumph of the Saracens was checked by a dreadful mortality of men and cattle; twenty-five thousand of the faithful were snatch'd from the possession of Syria; among these was Abu Obeidah; and the invincible Caled survived his leader but three years.

To the *North* of Syria the victorious Moslems A. D. 639. reduced Cilicia, with its capital Tarsus; 655. and spread the flames of war to the shores

shores of the Euxine, and the neighbourhood of Constantinople. To the *East*, they levelled the walls of Edeffa and Amida, of Dara and Nisibis, in the dust; and confounded, for ever, the long disputed barrier of Rome and Persia. To the *West* they occupied the hills of Libanus, abounding in timber, and Phœnicia populous in mariners. A fleet of seventeen hundred barks was equipped; and the imperial navy of the Romans fled before the natives of the Desert. The Saracens rode masters of the sea; and the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades, were successively exposed to their rapacious visits.

III. Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, was the offspring of a notorious prostitute, who adjudged the child, from the proof of resemblance, to Aafi, the oldest of her lovers. The merit of Amrou had been displayed in all the battles and sieges of Syria; and he united, with the temper of a chief, the valour of an adventurous soldier. In a visit to Medina, the caliph Omar expressed a wish to survey the sword which had cut down so many Christian warriors. The son of Aafi unsheathed a short and ordinary scymetar; and as he perceived the surprise of Omar, "Alas," said the modest Saracen, "the sword itself, without the arm of its master, is neither sharper nor more weighty than the sword of Pharez-dak the poet." From his camp in Palestine,

Amrou had surpris'd the caliph's leave for the invasion of Egypt. Omar trusted indeed in God; but when he compared the slender force of the Moslems with the greatness of the enterprize, he condemned his own rashness; in this perplexity he resigned himself to the decision of chance. Amrou had marched away from his station of Gaza, at the head of only four thousand Arabs, when he was overtaken by the messenger of Omar. "If you are still in Syria," said the ambiguous mandate, "retreat without delay; but if, at the receipt of this epistle, you have already reached the frontiers of Egypt, advance with confidence, and depend on the succour of God and of your brethren." Amrou was perhaps already apprised of the contents of the letter; he continued his march till his tents were unquestionably pitched on Egyptian ground. He then broke the seal A. D. 638. in the presence of his officers, gravely enquired the situation of the place, and professed his obedience to the commands of the caliph.

Pelusium, the key of Egypt, surrendered to the arms of the faithful in thirty days. Memphis sustained a siege of seven months; and a new city, by the name of Fostat, was raised on the eastern bank of the Tigris, and now is confounded with the contiguous quarters of Babylon, by the appellation of Old Misrah, or Cairo.

The

The progress of the Arabs was facilitated by the jacobite church, and by the Copts, who rejected the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon, which announced the Christ in one person, but in two natures. These consented to pay tribute to the temporal successors of Mahomet; and in his march from Memphis to Alexandria, Amrou entrusted his safety to the zeal and gratitude of the Egyptians.

By the retreat of the Greeks from the provinces of Upper Egypt, a considerable force was collected in the island of Delta. The natural and artificial channels of the Nile afforded a succession of strong posts; and the road to Alexandria was cleared by the Saracens in two and twenty days of combat. In their annals of conquest, the siege of Alexandria is perhaps the most arduous enterprise; and the efforts of the Arabs were not inadequate to the prize. The veterans of Syria, and the roving tribes of Arabia, were excited by the fertility of Egypt; the daily sallies of the besieged were repulsed; and in every attack the sword of Amrou glittered in the van of the Moslems. After a siege of fourteen months, and the loss of three and twenty thousand men, the Saracens prevailed; and the standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of the capital of Egypt. The intelligence of this disgraceful event afflicted the declining health of the em-

peror, and Heraclius died of a dropfy about seven weeks after the lofs of Alexandria. Under the minority of his grandfon, the Byzantine court undertook the recovery of the capital of Egypt. The harbour and fortifications of Alexandria were twice, in four years, occupied by a fleet and army of Romans; they were twice expelled by the valour of Amrou; who punifhed the third attempt by difmantling feveral parts of the walls and towers.

The liberal fpirit of Amrou was pleafed in his leifure hours with the converfation of John, furnamed *Philoponus*, from his various ftudies of philofophy and grammar; at his request the Arabian chief was willing to gratify him with the prefent of the Alexandrian library; but his rigid integrity induced him firft to confult the caliph; the anfwer of Omar was that of a fanatic. “ If “ thefe writings of the Greeks agree with the “ book of God, they are ufelefs, and need not “ be preferved; if they difagree, they are pernicious, and ought to be deftroyed.” The fentence was executed with blind obedience; and fuch was the incredible number of the volumes, that for fix months they fupplied with fuel the four thoufand baths of the city.

IV. The conquest of Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic, was firft attempted by the arms of the caliph Othman. An army of forty thoufand Arabians,

Arabians was commanded by Abdallah, who supplanted the conqueror and lieutenant of Egypt. The early conversion of Abdallah, and his skilful pen, had recommended him to the important office of transcribing the koran; he had betrayed his trust, corrupted the text, derided the errors which he had made, and fled to Mecca to escape the justice of the apostle; when that city was subdued, his pardon was reluctantly granted to the entreaties of Othman. In a nation of cavalry, Abdallah was renowned as the boldest and most dextrous horseman. From Egypt, he advanced into the unknown countries of the West; and, after a painful march, he pitched his tents before the walls of Tripoli, a maritime city. The siege of it was interrupted by the approach of the præfect Gregory; the forces of the empire, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, were defeated by the invincible Moslems; Gregory himself fell by the hand of Zobeir, who afterwards became the adversary of Ali, and the father of a caliph. But though the provincials on all sides implored the mercy of the conqueror, yet his losses, and the progress of an epidemical disease, prevented a permanent establishment; and the Saracens, after a campaign of fifteen months, retired towards the confines of Egypt.

The Western conquests of the Saracens were suspended by their dissensions near twenty years; and

and the arms of the caliph Moawiyah were invited by the oppression of the Byzantine ministers, and the cries of the Africans themselves. The title of conqueror of Africa is due to the renowned Akbah. He marched from Damascus at the head of ten thousand of the bravest Arabs; penetrated through Numidia, and reached the verge of the Atlantic, and the great Desert. The career of Akbah was checked by the prospect of a boundless ocean; he spurred his horse into the waves, and exclaimed in the tone of a fanatic, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee." Yet Akbah was unable to preserve his recent conquests. Deserted by the Greeks and Africans, the surrounding multitude only left him the consolation of an honourable death. His successor Zuheir avenged, and encountered his fate; after a series of victories, he was vanquished and slain by an army sent from Constantinople.

The return of domestic peace allowed the caliph Abdalmalek to resume the conquest of Africa. A. D. 692. ca. Hassan, governor of Egypt, was entrusted with the standard, and an army of forty thousand men. The predecessors of
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of Haffan had respected the name and fortifications of Carthage; these were assaulted by Haffan; but he had scarce taken possession of the prize, before his triumph was disturbed by the appearance of the Christian succours. The forces of the Eastern empire were strengthened by a detachment of Goths; and Haffan was compelled to retire to Tripoli. In the ensuing spring he was reinforced by the commander of the faithful; the Christians were defeated in two battles; and whatever remained of Carthage was delivered by the victor to the flames.

But the veteran bands of Haffan, though equal to the conquest, were inadequate to the defence of Africa. The natives, supported by A. D. 698. the Moors, rose in arms on every side. 709.

The conquest of an age was lost in a day; and the Arabian chief, overwhelmed by the torrent, retired towards the confines of Egypt; but the fickle Africans were soon tired of the Moorish tyranny; Haffan was again recalled; his successor was expelled by a similar insurrection; and it was not till the appointment of Musa and his two sons, that the spirit of rebellion was finally quelled.

V. The fortress of Ceuta belonged in that age, as well as the present, to the kings of Spain; it is divided by a narrow streight from the opposite point of Europe. Musa, in the pride of victory, had been repulsed from the walls by the courage
of

of count Julian, the general of the Goths. The Arabian chief was relieved from his perplexity by a message from the Christian governor, who offered his place, his person, and his sword to the successors of Mahomet. The Spaniards have accounted for this treachery by the popular story of his daughter being ravished by her sovereign; but their own history presents motives more congenial to a veteran statesman. On the death of Witiza, his two sons were supplanted by Roderic, a noble Goth; educated on the steps of a throne, though the monarchy was elective, the sons of Witiza were impatient of a private station; their followers were excited by the remembrance of past favours, and the hopes of a revolution; and among this party it is probable was count Julian. The aid of a foreign power was necessary; he invited, and exposed the weakness of Spain to the Moors and Saracens; and Musa, having obtained the permission of the caliph Walid, prepared for the enterprise.

A. D. 710. The first descent of the faithful was made by one hundred Arabs, and four hundred Africans. Their spoil, and the safety of their return, announced to their brethren the most favourable omens of victory. In the ensuing spring, five thousand veterans
A. D. 711. and volunteers were embarked under the command of Tarik, a dauntless and skilful soldier.

foldier. Edeco, the lieutenant of the Spanish monarch, was vanquished by their arms; and Roderic himself, on whom the Arabians bestowed the title of king of the Romans, advanced to oppose their progress at the head of ninety thousand men. The Saracens had been augmented to twelve thousand; they were reinforced by the Christian malecontents, and a crowd of Africans. The armies met near the town of Xeres, two leagues from Cadiz; three successive days were spent in bloody skirmishes; but the fourth proved decisive. "My brethren," said Tarik, as he beheld the Saracens giving way, "the enemy is before you, the sea is behind; whither would you fly? Follow your general: I am resolved either to lose my life, or to trample on the prostrate king of the Goths." His example restored the battle; the desertion of the two sons of Witiza confounded the ranks of the Christians; and the Gothic army was scattered or destroyed in the flight or pursuit of the three following days. Roderic himself escaped a soldier's death to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Bætis. The city of Cordova was assaulted and taken; the sea-coast of Bætica was reduced; and Tarik directing his march from the Bætis to the Tagus, appeared in arms under the walls of Toledo. The gates were opened to the victors on a fair and reasonable capitulation. The policy of Tarik liberally

rally rewarded the Jews, to whose secret or open aid he was indebted for his most important acquisitions; and his march beyond the Asturian mountains was only terminated by the maritime town of Gijon.

The envy of Musa was provoked by the success of his lieutenant. At the head of ten thousand Arabs he passed over in person from Mauritania to Spain, and reduced by famine the ancient capital of Lusitania. The interview between Musa and Tarik was cold and formal; the former demanded a strict account of the treasures of Spain; and the gallant Tarik was imprisoned, reviled, and scourged by the command of Musa. Yet so pure was the zeal of the primitive Moslems, that after this indignity, Tarik could serve and be trusted with the reduction of the Tarragonese province.

The exploits of Musa were performed in the evening of life, but his breast was still filled with the ardour of youth; the possession of Spain was considered by him as only the first step to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful armament by sea and land, he was preparing to repass the Pyrenees, to extinguish in Gaul and Italy the kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards, and to preach the unity of God on the altar of the vatican; from thence, subduing the Barbarians of Germany, he proposed to follow the course of
the

the Danube from its source to the Euxine Sea, to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Constantinople, and to unite his new acquisitions with Antioch and the provinces of Syria. But the visionary conqueror was soon reminded of his dependance and servitude. The wrongs of Tarik had been stated at the court of Damascus; and Musa was recalled by a peremptory summons. His long triumph from Ceuta to Damascus displayed the spoils of Afric, and the treasures of Spain. But as soon as he reached Tiberias in Palestine; he was apprised of the sickness and danger of the caliph, by his brother Soliman, his presumptive heir, who wished to preserve for his own reign the spectacle of victory. Had Walid recovered, the delay of Musa would have been criminal; he pursued his march, and found Soliman on the throne. In his trial before a partial judge, he was convicted of vanity and falsehood; the indignity offered to Tarik was avenged by a similar punishment; the veteran commander was publicly whipped, and banished under the pretence of a pilgrimage to Mecca. The fears of the caliph demanded the extirpation of the injured family; Abdelaziz, the eldest son of Musa, was slain under the pretence of a treasonable correspondence; his head was shewn to the father with the insulting question, whether he acknowledged the features of the rebel? "I know
" his

“ his features,” he exclaimed with indignation ;
“ I assert his innocence ; and I imprecate the
“ same, a juster, fate, against the authors of his
“ death.” The age and despair of Musa raised
him above the power of kings, and he expired at
Mecca of the anguish of a broken heart.

The province of Spain, which had been successively tinctured with Punic, and Roman, and Gothic blood, imbibed, in a few generations, the manners of the Arabs. The victorious bands of Tarik and Musa asserted, by the name of Spaniards, their original claim of conquest ; yet they allowed their brethren of Egypt to share their establishments of Murcia and Lisbon. In the space of two centuries, the gifts of nature were improved by the agriculture, the manufactures, and the commerce of an industrious people ; and the dominion of the Arabs may be considered as the most prosperous æra of the riches, the cultivation, and the populousness of Spain.

The wars of the Moslems were sanctified by the prophet ; but among his various precepts, the caliphs selected the lessons of toleration, that might tend to disarm the resistance of the unbelievers. The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus, were solemnly invited to accept the more powerful revelation of Mahomet ; but if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience

science and religious worship. The progress of their arms was facilitated by this moderation; and at the end of the first century of the hegira, the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe. Under the last of the Omniades, the Arabian empire extended two hundred days journey from East to West, from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic ocean; and the long and narrow province of Africa, the dominion from Fargana to Aden, from Tarsus to Surat, will spread on every side to the measure of four or five months of the march of a caravan; while the progress of the Mahometan religion diffused over this ample space a general resemblance of manners and opinions.

 CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE TWO SIEGES OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE ARABS—THEIR INVASION OF FRANCE, AND DEFEAT BY CHARLES MARTEL—CIVIL WAR OF THE OMMAIADES AND ABBASSIDES—LEARNING OF THE ARABS—LUXURY OF THE CALIPHS—NAVAL ENTERPRISES ON CRETE, SICILY, AND ROME—DECAY AND DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE CALIPHS—DEFEATS AND VICTORIES OF THE GREEK EMPERORS.

FORTY-SIX years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople. The prophet had asserted, that the sins of the first army which besieged the city of the Cæsars, were forgiven; and the caliph Moawiyah was impatient by this meritorious expedition to expiate the guilt of civil blood. His standard was entrusted to Sophian,

phian, a veteran warrior; and the troops were animated by the presence of Yezid, the son and presumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. The naval forces of the Saracens passed through the unguarded channel of the Hellespont, and the troops were disembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city. But the solid and lofty walls of Constantinople were guarded by numbers and discipline; and the Arabs were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This effectual resistance diverted their arms to the more easy spoil of the adjacent country; and on the approach of winter, they retreated to the isle of Cyzicus, fourscore miles from the capital, where they had established their magazines of plunder and provisions. Yet so patient was their perseverance, that they repeated in the six following summers the same attack and retreat; till the gradual loss of thirty thousand Moslems compelled them to relinquish the fruitless enterprise.

The event of the siege raised the reputation of the Roman arms; the Greek ambassador was favourably received at Damascus; a truce of thirty years was ratified between the two empires; and the commander of the faithful was reduced to submit to the annual tribute of fifty horses of a noble breed, fifty slaves,

A. D. 677.

and three thousand pieces of gold. This was raised during the revolt of Arabia and Persia to a slave, an horse, and a thousand pieces of gold for each of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the solar year; but no sooner had Abdalmalek united again the empire, than he disclaimed the badge of servitude, and discontinued the tribute; and the Greeks were disabled from action by the mad tyranny of Justinian the Second, and the frequent change of his successors.

The second siege of Constantinople was undertaken in the reign of the caliph Soliman. A. D. 716. Anastasius, who then swayed the Roman sceptre, conceived the design of burning the naval stores of the enemy; but the enterprise was defeated by the treachery of the troops, who murdered their chief, and invested Theodosius, a simple officer of the revenue, with the purple. Theodosius, after a precarious reign of some months, sunk into the cloyster, and resigned the throne, with the defence of the capital and the empire, to the firmer hand of Leo, the Isaurian. Moslemah, the brother of the caliph, invested Constantinople with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand Arabs and Persians; and expected the approach of the navies of Egypt and Syria. The hostile fleet of eighteen hundred ships appeared before the mouth of the harbour; but while they hesitated whether they

they should enter it, the fire-ships of the Greeks were launched against them ; and in a few hours an armada was destroyed which threatened to extirpate the Roman name. The death of the caliph Soliman was still a more fatal and irreparable loss ; Omar, who succeeded him, was a scrupulous and inactive bigot ; the siege was continued through the winter rather by his neglect than resolution ; the season proved uncommonly rigorous ; the natives of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid, and almost lifeless, in their frozen camp ; disease and famine had entered their tents ; and the hopeless Moslemah, after a siege of thirteen months, received from the caliph the welcome permission of retreat.

The deliverance of Constantinople may be principally ascribed to the terrors and the efficacy of the *Greek fire*. From the obscure hints of the Byzantine writers, it should seem that the principal ingredient was the *naphtha*, or liquid bitumen ; this was mingled with sulphur, and the pitch that is extracted from green firs ; and sand, urine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was nourished and quickened by the element of water ; and was justly denominated by the Greeks the *liquid*, or the *maritime*, fire. For four hundred years the secret of the composition was confined, by the most jealous precau-

tions, to the Romans of the East; it was at length discovered and stole by the Mahometans; and was continued to be used to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the compound of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, effected a new revolution in the art of war.

The Greek fire might preserve Constantinople, and exclude the Arabs from the Eastern entrance of Europe; but in the West, on the side of the Pyrenees, the conquerors of Spain
A. D. 721. soon invaded the provinces of Gaul. The weakness of the race of Clovis had delegated all power to the mayor of the palace, and that domestic officer was become the minister of the nation, and the master of his prince. The nobles were tempted to despise the imbecility of the monarch, and to imitate the ambition of the mayor. Among these, the most successful was Eudes, duke of Aquitain, who in the southern provinces of Gaul usurped the authority and title of king. The first invasion of the Saracens was repelled by his arms; but the ambition of the Moslems was stimulated by revenge; they repassed the Pyrenees; occupied Narbonne, Languedoc, Gascony, and Bourdeaux; and the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, assumed the manners and religion of Arabia.

The spirit of Abderame scorned these narrow limits;

limits; the veteran commander adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of France or of Europe; at the head of a formidable host he prepared to execute the sentence. Near Arles an army of Christians, who attempted the relief of that city, was defeated; the victorious Abderame passed without opposition the Garonne and Dordogne; and Eudes, who beyond those rivers had collected another army, was overthrown in a second battle. The Saracens overran the provinces of Aquitaine, planted their standards on the walls of Tours and Sens, and ravaged the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the cities of Lyons and Besançon.

The danger which threatened Christendom was averted by the genius and fortune of Charles, the illegitimate son of the elder Pepin; and who with the titles of mayor or duke of the Franks, restored the dignity of the throne, and crushed the rebels of Germany and Gaul. In the public danger, he was summoned by the voice of his country; and his rival, the duke of Aquitaine, was reduced to appear among the fugitives and suppliants. No sooner had he collected his forces, than he fought and found the enemy between Tours and Poitiers. During the six first days of desultory combat, the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their advantage; but in the closer onset of the seventh day, the Orientals

were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans. The epithet of *Martel*, the *hammer*, which has been added to the name of Charles, was expressive of his weighty strokes; and the valour of Eudes was provoked by resentment and emulation. Abderame was slain; the Saracens retired to their camp; the various tribes turned their arms against each other, and each *emir* consulted his safety by a separate retreat. Aquitain was recovered by the arms of Eudes; the Arabs never resumed the conquest of Gaul; and they were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel, and his valiant race.

The loss of an army in the Western world was less painful to the court of Damascus than the progress of a domestic competitor. The caliphs of the house of Ommiyah were favourably regarded by the Syrians alone; and the eyes of the faithful were turned towards the line of Hashem, and the kindred of the apostle of God. The line of the Fatimites was either rash or pusillanimous; but the descendants of Abbas, the uncle of Mahomet, cherished with discretion the hopes of their rising fortunes. Ibrahim, the fifth in descent from Abbas, was supported by the wishes of the province of Chorasan; and the governor was driven from the city and palace of Meru by the arms of Abu Moslem, the author, as he is termed, of the *Call*
of

of the Abbassides. In the distinction of parties, the Fatimites assumed the *green*; the Ommiades the *white*; and the *black* was adopted by the Abbassides. From the Indus to the Euphrates, the East was convulsed by the quarrel of the white and black factions; Ibrahim was indeed seized by a detachment of cavalry, and perished in the dungeons of Haran; but his two younger brothers, Saffah and Almanfor, eluded the search of the tyrant; and Saffah, fortified by the approach of his Eastern friends, ascended the pulpit, and preached as the lawful successor of the prophet. On the banks of the Zab, the important contest was decided; the caliph, Mervan the Fourteenth, and the last of the house of Ommiyah, animated his army by his presence and example; but he was forced to yield to the enthusiasm of the black troops, conducted by Abdallah, the uncle of his competitor. The vanquished caliph crossed the Euphrates, and, without halting in Palestine, pitched his last camp on the banks of the Nile; he was pursued and attacked by Abdallah; and the lance of an Abbasside terminated the life of Mervan, and established the authority of Saffah.

A. D. 750.
Feb. 10.

In the proscription of the Ommiades, a royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman alone escaped the rage of his enemies, and reached the vallies of Mount Atlas. His presence in the neighbourhood

hood of Spain revived the zeal of the white faction ; the acclamations of the people saluted his landing on the coast of Andalusia ; and Abdalrahman, after a successful struggle, A. D. 755. established the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Omniades in Spain, who reigned above two hundred and fifty years from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees. The example of the Omniades was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali, the Edrissites of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Africa and Egypt. In the tenth century, the chair of Mahomet was disputed by three caliphs, who reigned at Bagdad, Cordova, and Cairoan, a city of Africa founded by Akbah ; the three rivals excommunicated each other, and agreed only in a principle of discord, that a sectary is more odious than an unbeliever.

Almanfor, the brother and successor of Saffah, laid the foundations of Bagdad, the imperial seat of his posterity ; the chosen spot is on the Eastern bank of the Tigris ; and such was the rapid increase of the new capital, that the funeral of a popular saint might be attended by eight hundred thousand men, and sixty thousand women of Bagdad and the adjacent villages. The Abbassides soon disdained the abstinence of the first caliphs, and aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian kings ; Almanfor left behind him,
after

after his wars and buildings, in gold and silver, about thirty millions sterling. This treasure was exhausted in a few years by the ostentatious liberality of his children; and their profusion was equalled by the Ommiades of Spain, who supported with rival pomp the title of commander of the faithful.

Under the reign of the Ommiades, the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. After their civil and domestic wars, the subjects of the Abbassides found leisure, and felt curiosity, for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the caliph Almanzor, who successfully applied himself to the study of astronomy; his designs were completed by his grandson Almamon, who diligently collected from Constantinople, Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, the volumes of Grecian science. The zeal and curiosity of Almamon were imitated by succeeding princes of the line of Abbas; their rivals the Fatimites of Africa, and the Ommiades of Spain, were equally the patrons of the learned; and the rewards of literature were diffused from Samarcand and Bucharà to Fèz and Cordova.

The Arabs applied themselves principally to the sciences of astronomy and medicine; the astronomical tables of Bagdad, Spain, and Samarcand,

cand, correct some minute errors, without daring to renounce the hypothesis of Ptolemy ; and the wisdom and honesty of the astronomer are debased by the vain predictions of astrology ; but in the science of medicine, the Arabians have been deservedly applauded. The names of Mesua and Geber, of Razis and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian masters ; and in Spain, the life of the catholic princes was entrusted to the skill of the Saracens. To their industry, *chemistry* owes its origin and improvement. They first invented and named the alembic for the purposes of distillation, analysed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alkalis and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and salutary medicines. But as the Arabs advanced in learning, that invincible enthusiasm, which was excited by the thirst of martyrdom, and the vision of paradise, insensibly abated ; the sword of the Saracens became less formidable when their youth was drawn away from the camp to the college, and when the armies of the faithful presumed to read and reflect.

During the dissensions of the Omniades and Abbassides, the disgrace of tribute was imposed on the commanders of the faithful ; a severe retribution was exacted by Mohadi, the third caliph of the new dynasty. His second son, Harun, encamped

encamped under the walls of Constantinople, whilst Irene, and her infant son Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. The retreat of the Saracens was purchased by the empress with an annual tribute of seventy thousand dinars of gold. Five years after this expedition, Harun, known by the surname of *Al Rashid, the Just*, ascended the throne of his father, and his elder brother Nicephorus, who succeeded Irene, refused the tribute, and resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace. "Restore," said he, in his letter to the caliph, "the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword." The answer of the caliph was of tremendous brevity: "In the name of the most merciful God, Harun al Rashid, commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." It was written in characters of blood and fire on the plains of Phrygia; and the warlike celerity of the Arabs could only be checked by the deceitful professions of repentance. But the triumphant caliph had scarcely retired before the peace was violated by Nicephorus. His return was attended by the defeat of the perfidious Greek, who escaped from the field of battle with three wounds; the torrent of the invaders deluged

lugged the surface of Asia Minor, and swept away the pontic Heraclea; Nicephorus was compelled to submit, and the coin of the tribute was marked with the image and superscription of Harun and his three sons. These, after the death of their father, were involved in civil discord; and the conqueror, the liberal Almamon, engaged in the introduction of science, tacitly relinquished his claim to the Roman tribute.

A band of Andalusians, the subjects of the *white* party, had invaded the dominions of the black caliphs. They had possessed themselves of Alexandria; but the approach of Almamon himself compelled them to retire. The fertility of Crete, which they had already tasted, attracted their desires; with forty gallies they returned to the attack; they wandered, fearless
A. D. 823. and unmolested, over the island; but when they descended with their plunder to the sea coast, their vessels were in flames. Their chief Abu Caab confessed himself the author of the mischief; “of what do you complain?” said the crafty emir; “I have brought you to
“ a land flowing with milk and honey. Here is
“ your true country; repose from your toils, and
“ forget the barren place of your nativity.”
“ And our wives and children?” “Your beautiful
“ captives will supply the place of your
“ wives, and in their embraces you will soon
“ become

“ become the fathers of a new progeny;” the advice was relished; the timber of Mount Ida soon repaired the loss of their navy; and these licentious corsairs, for one hundred and thirty-eight years, derided the ineffectual arms and curses of the princes of Constantinople.

The severity of the Grecian emperor had condemned an amorous youth to the amputation of his tongue, for stealing a nun from her cloyster. Euphemius appealed to the reason and policy of the Saracens of Africa; and soon returned with the imperial purple, a fleet of one hundred ships, and an army of seven

A. D. 827.

hundred horse, and ten thousand foot: but the apostate was slain before the walls of Syracuse, and his African friends were rescued from impending ruin by a reinforcement of their Andalusian brethren. For fifty years Syracuse maintained the faith which she had sworn to Christ and to Cæsar; in the last and fatal

A. D. 878.

siege the citizens withstood the assaults of the besiegers above twenty days; but with the capture of Syracuse, the religion and language of the Greeks, in Sicily, were eradicated; the Arabian squadrons issued from the harbours of Palermo, Biserta, and Tunis, and plundered the coasts of Calabria and Campania; and Italy must have fallen an easy accession to the empire of the prophet, had the Mahometans been united: but
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the caliphs of Bagdad had lost their authority; the Aglabites and Fatimites usurped the provinces of Africa; the emirs of Sicily aspired to independence; and the arms of the Moslems were confined to predatory inroads.

Rome partook in the sufferings of prostrate Italy; a fleet of Saracens from the African coast entered the Tyber; they insulted the A. D. 846. suburbs, and pillaged with rapacious zeal the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul. Their divisions saved the capitol from the yoke of the prophet of Mecca. In the pressing emergency of affairs, the vacant apostolical chair was filled by Leo the Fourth; and the unanimous choice of that pontiff was the safety of the church and city. The ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo; fifteen towers were erected in the most accessible stations; and a chain was drawn across the stream of the Tyber to impede the ascent of a hostile navy.

These precautions were soon found necessary. A fleet of Arabs and Moors cast anchor before the mouth of the Tyber; and their discipline and numbers threatened a serious design of conquest and dominion; but Leo had negotiated an alliance with the free and maritime states of Gayeta, Naples, and Amalfi; in the hour of danger, their gallies appeared in the port of Ostia, under the command of Cæsarius, the son of a Neapolitan

litan duke, a valiant youth who had already vanquished the Saracens. The Moslems advanced to the attack ; but the Christians had obtained the advantage, when a sudden tempest confounded the skill, and completed the destruction of their African adversaries. The Italians were sheltered in a friendly harbour ; but the Saracens, who escaped the storm, fell into the hands of their implacable pursuers ; the sword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives ; and the remainder was usefully employed to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. The reign of Leo the Fourth was dedicated to the defence and ornament of the Roman state. The nations of the West and North, who visited the threshold of the apostles, had gradually formed the large and populous suburb of the vatican ; to encompass this holy spot with walls and towers was the labour of the pontiff ; and four years were consumed in the work by the indefatigable Leo. On the completion of it, with a pardonable vanity, he bestowed on the vatican the new name of the *Leonine* city.

A. D. 849.

A. D. 852.

The emperor Theophilus, son of Michael the Stammerer, was one of the most active princes who reigned at Constantinople during the middle age. Five times he marched against the Sara-

cens in person ; in his last expedition he destroyed Sozopetra, in Syria, the birth-place of the caliph Motasslem. The commander of the A. D. 838. faithful was provoked by the insult.

The troops of Irak, Syria, and Egypt, were recruited from the tribes of Arabia and the Turkish hords. The caliph in person commanded the formidable army ; and his vengeance fell on Amorium, in Phrygia, the native city of the father of Theophilus ; the emperor embraced the generous resolution of defending in a battle the country of his ancestors ; he was compelled to fly before the fury of the invaders ; and his army was only saved from a total defeat by the valour of his Persian auxiliaries. Amorium was levelled with the ground ; and the caliph, tired with destruction, returned to the neighbourhood of Bagdad.

With Motasslem, the eighth of the Abbassides, the glory of his family and nation expired. The mercenary forces of Motasslem had been recruited in the climates of the North ; and fifty thousand Turks were introduced into the capital. Motasslem himself had beheld with concern their licentious inclinations ; but the life and the throne of his son, Motawakkel, were terminated and subverted by their treacherous fury. In four years three commanders of the faithful were sacrificed to the avarice and rage of these foreign mercenaries. At length the tempest was diverted ;
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the insolence of the Turks was curbed by a firm and skilful hand; and their numbers were divided and destroyed in foreign warfare; but their example first taught the nations of the East to trample on the successors of the prophet.

In the two hundred and seventy-seventh year of the hegira, in the neighbourhood
of Cufa, an Arabian preacher, of the

A. D. 890.

name of Carmeth, assumed the style of a prophet, and converted the rustic crowd; his mystic volume refined the precepts of the koran to a more spiritual sense; he relaxed the duties of ablution, fasting, and pilgrimage, and nourished the fervour of his disciples by the daily repetition of fifty prayers. After the death of Carmeth, his twelve apostles dispersed themselves among the Bedoweens; these professed the faith of Carmeth, and vowed a blind submission to their imam. The mercenaries of the caliph were dismayed by the resolute zeal of the Carmathians, and of their leaders Abu Said, and his son Abu Taher. The cities of Racca and Baalbec, of Cufa and Baf-fora, were taken and pillaged. Mecca

A. D. 929.

itself was stormed in a festival of devotion, and Abu Taher trampled on the most venerable relics of the Mahometan faith. It is needless to enquire by what means the Carmathians were finally extirpated; it is sufficient to observe, their sect may be considered as the

second visible cause of the decline and fall of the empire of the caliphs.

The third and most obvious cause was the weight and magnitude of the empire itself. In the long and hereditary exercise of power, the lieutenants of the caliphs assumed the pride and attributes of royalty. In Africa, ~~the~~ ^{A. D. 800.} the *Aglabites* and *Edrisites* erected their independent thrones. In the East, the first dynasty was that of the *Taberites*, the posterity of the valiant Taher, who reigned over the province of Chorasan. These were supplanted by an adventurer, who left his trade of a brazier (from whence the name of *Soffarides*) for the profession of a robber. He subdued Persia, and threatened Bagdad; but after his death, the throne of his successor was overturned by the powerful dynasty of *Samanides*, who, at the invitation of the Abbassides, passed the Oxus, vanquished the Soffarian armies, and content with Transoxiana and Chorasan, suffered the realms of Persia to return for a while to the allegiance of the caliphs. The provinces of Syria and Egypt were twice dismembered by the Turkish slaves of the race of *Toulon* and *Ikshid*; and the potent dynasties of the *Toulonides* and the *Ikshidites* were for a short period famous and formidable; yet both Egypt and Syria were recovered,

recovered, and possessed by the Abbassides during an interval of thirty years. In the decline of the empire, Mesopotamia, with the cities A. D. 892.
of Mosul and Aleppo, was occupied 1001.

by the princes of *Hamadan*. The language and genius of Persia was restored by three A. D. 933.
brothers, who established the dynasty 1055.

of the *Bowides*; and from the Caspian Sea to the Ocean, would suffer no tyrants but themselves.

With Radhi, the twentieth of the A. D. 936.
Abbassides, expired the wealth and

magnificence of the ancient caliphs: his successors were reduced to abject misery; their dominions were confined within the walls of Bagdad; despoiled of the sceptre, they still claimed the koran; but their temporal and spiritual authority was at length extinguished by their successful rivals, the Fatimites, who vigorously arose from the extremity of Africa; and extending themselves over Egypt and Syria, the monarch of the Nile insulted the humble pontiff on the banks of the Tigris.

In the declining age of the caliphs, when the Eastern world was convulsed and broken, the Greeks were roused from their lethargy by the hopes of conquest and revenge. Nicephorus Phocas, in the subordinate station of general of the East, reduced the island of Crete, and extirpated the nest of pirates which had so long defied

the Majesty of the empire. After A. D. 960. the death of Romanus, his widow Theophania, successively married Nicephorus Phocas, and his assassin, John Zimisces, the two heroes of the age. The two emperors prosecuted their conquests from the hills of Cappadocia to the desert of Bagdad. The sieges of Mopsuestia and Tarsus first exercised the valour and perseverance of their troops; the former was taken by assault, the latter reduced by famine. After securing the narrow passes of Mount Amanus, the two Roman princes repeatedly carried their arms into the heart of Syria; and Antioch, in the depth of winter, in a dark rainy night, was surprised by an adventurous subaltern with three hundred soldiers, who scaled the walls, and opened the gates to an army stationed in the neighbourhood. Aleppo was betrayed by the dissensions of its citizens and garrison. Hierapolis, Apamea, and Emesa submitted; and the emperor Zimisces encamped in the delicious territory of Damascus. At the head of a victorious army he crossed the Euphrates, below the passage of Mount Taurus; overran the once famous cities of Edeffa, Martyropolis, Amida, and Nisibis; and advanced with ardour to seize the virgin treasures of Bagdad: but these had already been dissipated by the prodigality of domestic tyrants; and the apprehensions of Bagdad were relieved

relieved by the retreat of the Greeks. Thirst and hunger guarded the desert of Mesopotamia; and the emperor, fatiated with glory, returned to Constantinople. By his invasion, the powers of the East had been bent, not broken; after the departure of the Greeks, the fugitive princes returned to their capitals; their subjects disclaimed their involuntary oaths of obedience; and of these conquests, Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia, and the isle of Cyprus, became the only permanent accessions to the Roman empire.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

STATE OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE IN THE TENTH
CENTURY—THE GREEKS, THE ARABS, AND THE
FRANKS—ORIGIN AND DOCTRINE OF THE PAU-
LICIANs—THE BULGARIANS—THE HUNGA-
RIANS—THE RUSSIANS—CONVERSION OF
THE BARBARIANS,

IN the tenth century, the provinces which still acknowledged the authority of the successors of Constantine, had been cast into a new mould by the institution of the *themes*, or military governments; but of these twenty-nine themes, twelve in Europe, and seventeen in Asia, the origin is obscure, and the limits were fluctuating. The victories of Nicephorus, John Zimisces, and Basil the Second, enlarged the boundaries of the Roman name; but in the eleventh century, the prospect was clouded by new enemies and new misfortunes;

misfortunes : the relics of Italy were swept away by the Norman adventurers, and almost all the Asiatic branches were dissevered from the Roman trunk by the Turkish conquerors. After these losses, the emperors of the Comnenian family continued to reign from the Danube to the Peloponnesus, and from Belgrade to Nice, Trebizond, and the winding stream of the Meander. The spacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, were obedient to their sceptre; the possession of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, was accompanied by the fifty islands of the Ægean, or Holy Sea; and the remnant of their empire transcends the measure of the largest of the European kingdoms.

The same princes might assert with dignity and truth, that of all the monarchs of Christendom, they possessed the greatest city, the most ample revenue, and the most flourishing and populous state. A Jewish traveller, who visited Constantinople in the twelfth century, declared that capital paid each day to her sovereign twenty thousand pieces of gold. Michael the Third inherited one hundred and nine thousand pounds of gold, and three thousand of silver, the fruits of the œconomy of his mother Theodora, and her deceased husband. The victorious armies of Basil the Second were paid and rewarded, without breaking into the mass of two hundred thousand pounds

pounds of gold (about eight millions sterling) which he had buried in the subterraneous vaults of the palace. The subjects of the Byzantine empire were still the most dextrous of nations; their country was blessed by nature with every advantage of soil, climate, and situation; and in the support and restoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper was more useful than the warlike spirit and feudal anarchy of Europe.

The first demand on the public revenue was for the pomp and pleasure of the emperor. The coasts and islands of Asia and Europe were covered with the magnificent villas of the princes of Constantinople; the great palace, the centre of imperial residence, was decorated and enlarged by the wealth and emulation of successive sovereigns; and the long series of apartments was adorned with a profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones. The dignity of the imperial throne was maintained by a solemn and studied silence; and all who entered the royal presence, fell prostrate on the ground, and kissed the feet of the emperor.

A perpetual interdict, ratified by the fabulous sanction of the great Constantine, and inscribed on the altar of St. Sophia, precluded the marriage of the Cæsars with foreign nations. The alliance of Copronymus with the daughter of the king of the Chozars, was censured in a subsequent

sequent reign ; Romanus, whose grand-daughter had married a Bulgarian prince, was considered as a plebeian usurper ; but the nuptials of Romanus the Second, with Bertha of France or Italy, was justified by his father, Porphyrogenitus ; and the Franks were honourably excepted from the general prohibition. The union was dissolved by the death of the virgin spouse ; the second wife of Romanus was of plebeian, but of Roman, birth. Of their two daughters, Theophano and Anne, the eldest was bestowed on the son of the great Otho ; Theophano governed, after the death of her father-in-law, and husband, during the minority of her son, Rome, Italy, and Germany, with the approbation of her subjects ; Anne, the youngest daughter, became the wife of Wolodomir, great prince of Russia ; the Grecian princess was sacrificed to the assistance of a pagan of the North ; yet her marriage proved fortunate and fruitful ; and the king of France, Henry I. sought a wife of imperial descent on the borders of Europe and Christendom, and obtained the daughter of her grandson Jeroslaus.

The three great empires which, from the age of Charlemagne to that of the crusades, disputed the world, were the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks. The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to purchase the service of the poorer nations ; and to maintain a naval power for the protection

protection of their coasts, and the annoyance of their enemies. Their invention of liquid fire was employed in sieges and sea-fights with terrible effects; but in the decision of battles, steel and iron were still the common instruments of destruction; their armour on a march was laid aside in light chariots, and reluctantly resumed on the approach of an enemy; their offensive weapons consisted of swords, battle-axes, and spears; but the Macedonian pike was shortened a fourth of its length, and reduced to twelve cubits. Yet though the wealth and care of the Roman emperors could liberally supply the arms of the soldier, it was impossible to renew his debilitated mind; the Greeks were sunk in their own esteem, and that of their neighbours; and a cold hand and loquacious tongue was the general description of the nation.

The Moslems, under the last caliphs, had undoubtedly degenerated from the high-spirited enthusiasm of the first companions of the prophet; but the latent spark of fanaticism still glowed in the heart of their religion; the poor were allured by the hopes of plunder; the rich were ambitious of death or victory in the cause of God. Their offensive and defensive arms were similar in strength and temper to those of the Romans, whom they far excelled in the management of the horse and the bow. In their engagements they
sustained

sustained with patient firmness the first attack, and seldom advanced to the charge till they could discern and oppress the lassitude of their foes. But if they were repulsed, they knew not how to renew the combat; and their dismay was heightened by the superstitious prejudices that God had declared himself on the side of their enemies.

The Franks, after the death of Charlemagne, had been separated into many hostile and independent states; the regal title was assumed by the most ambitious chiefs; and their private wars, which overturned the fabric of government, fomented the martial spirit of the nation. In the disorders of the tenth and eleventh centuries, every peasant was a foldier, and every village a fortification. Their love of freedom and of arms was felt, with conscious pride, by the Franks themselves, and was observed by the Greeks with terror and amazement. Retreat was considered as flight, and flight as indelible infamy. In the age which preceded the institution of knighthood, the Franks were rude and unskilful in the service of cavalry, and unpractised in the use of pikes, or missile weapons; they marched to battle, encumbered by the length of their swords, the weight of their armour, and the magnitude of their shields; their independent spirit disdained the yoke of subordination, and abandoned the standard of their chief, if he attempted to keep
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the field beyond the term of their stipulation or service.

From the reign of Justinian may be dated the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue. That legislator had composed his institutes in a language which he celebrates as the proper style of the Roman government. But this foreign dialect was unknown to the people and soldiers of the Asiatic provinces; and was but imperfectly understood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws, and the ministers of the state. The several parts of his jurisprudence were successively translated, and the version obtained a legal as well as popular establishment in the Byzantine monarchy. The birth and residence of succeeding princes estranged them from the Roman idiom. Tiberius by the Arabs, and Maurice by the Italians, are distinguished as the first of the Greek Cæsars, and the founders of a new empire; and the ruins of the Latin speech were darkly preserved in the terms of jurisprudence, and the acclamations of the palace. Yet the appellation of Greeks was rejected by the prince and people to whom it was applied; and long after they had renounced the dress and idiom, the name of ROMANS adhered to the last fragments of the empire of Constantinople.

The Greeks of Constantinople, after purging away the impurities of their vulgar speech, acquired

quired the free use of their ancient language, and a familiar knowledge of the sublime masters who had pleased or instructed the first of nations ; but these advantages only tend to aggravate the reproach and shame of a degenerate people. They read, they praised, they compiled ; but their languid soul seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity, or promote the happiness of mankind ; but the minds of the Greeks were bound in the fetters of a base and imperious superstition ; their understandings were bewildered in metaphysical controversy ; and their taste was vitiated by the homilies of the monks, an absurd medley of declamation and scripture.

The restoration of images in the Eastern world was celebrated as the feast of orthodoxy ; the Pagans had disappeared ; the Jews were silent and obscure ; and persecution must have slept, had not a branch of Manichæans, about the middle of the seventh century, been selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny. Their patience was at length exasperated to despair and rebellion ; and the exile of the PAULICIANS has scattered over the West the seeds of reformation.

Constantine, the author of the new sect, resided in the neighbourhood of Samosata, and had received from a deacon the inestimable gift of
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the New Testament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the Greek clergy. These books became the measure of his studies, and the rule of his faith; but he peculiarly devoted himself to the writings and character of St. Paul; the disciples of that apostle were represented by Constantine and his fellow-labourers. They rejected with contempt the Old Testament; disclaimed the visions which had been published by the Oriental sects; and condemned the opinions of the Manichæan sect, who presumed to reconcile the doctrines of Christ and Zoroaster. The Paulicians were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship; their trust and belief was in the Father, of Christ, of the human soul, and of the invisible world; but they likewise held the eternity of an active being who created this visible world, and exercises his temporal reign till the final consummation of death and sin.

The disciples of Constantine were soon multiplied, and he preached with success in the regions of Pontus and Cappadocia; the new sect was loosely spread over the provinces of Asia Minor to the westward of the Euphrates; but Constantine himself, after a mission of twenty-seven years, fell a sacrifice to Roman persecution; the numbers, who in two centuries imbibed his doctrines, may be estimated by the assertion, that one hundred thousand Paulicians perished

perished by the orthodox zeal of the widow of Theophilus. From their blood and ashes, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose; and the empire was fatally instructed, that the most furious and desperate of rebels are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. Carbeas, a valiant Paulician, with five thousand of his brethren, renounced the allegiance of anti-christian Rome; negotiated an alliance with the caliph; seized the city of Tephrike, in the mountains between Sirvas and Trebizond; and pillaged the provinces of Asia Minor. After the death of Carbeas, Tephrike was reduced by the arms of Basil the Macedonian; but the spirit of independence survived in the mountains; and the Paulicians still infested the Roman limits. By the kindred heresy of Copronymus, they were transplanted from the banks of the Euphrates into Constantinople and Thrace; by John Zimisces they were established in the vallies of Mount Hæmus, and opposed to the Barbarians of Scythia; and in the beginning of the thirteenth century, their pope resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed by his vicars the filial congregations of Italy and France. The modern Paulicians are subject to the Turkish government; but they have lost all memory of their origin; and their religion is disgraced by the

VOL. II. Z worship

worship of the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice.

Under the Byzantine standard, the Paulicians were often transported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily; and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps; but it was in the county of the Albigeois, in the southern part of France, that they were most deeply implanted. Pope Innocent III. with the diligence of the inquisition, extirpated by fire and sword, the visible assemblies of the Paulicians or Albigeois; but the invincible spirit which they had kindled, still lived and breathed in the Western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloyster, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul; who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Oriental sects. The struggles of Wickliffe in England, of Hufs in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

The BULGARIANS, who in a great measure adopted the religious tenets of the Paulicians, had been trampled on by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, in his march to Italy. After a century and a half, they were revived by fresh colonies from
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the Tanais or the Volga. The most adventurous wandered in quest of fortune, and found protection in the heart of Italy, under the exarch of Ravenna; but the great stream of emigration was directed towards the capital; and the conquerors successively acquired the Roman provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epirus. The evidence of language attests the descent of the Bulgarians from the original stock of the Slavonian race. The kindred bands of Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, Croatians, Walachians, &c. followed either the standard or the example of the leading tribe. From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the state of captives, or subjects, or allies, or enemies of the Greek empire, they overspread the land. Among these the Chrobatians, or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, were the conquerors and sovereign of Dalmatia; a long sea-coast, indented with capacious harbours, disposed them to the practice of navigation; their enterprises were frequent and rapacious; and it was not till the close of the tenth century, that the freedom of the gulf was effectually vindicated from the Slavonian pirates, by the republic of Venice.

The glory of the Bulgarians was confined to a narrow scope of time and place. In the ninth and tenth centuries they reigned to the south of the Danube. The Roman emperor Nicephorus

had boldly advanced into the center of their territory; his camp was surprised by the Bulgarians; Nicephorus was slain; and his skull, enshased with gold, was often replenished in the feasts of victory. Before the end of the same century, a peaceful intercourse with the Greeks, and the introduction of the Christian religion, softened the manners of the Barbarians; yet under Simeon, a youth of the royal line, who relinquished the profession of a monk for that of a king and a warrior, they besieged Romanus I. in his capital; their retreat was purchased by a domestic alliance, and the freedom of trade; after the death of Simeon, his feeble successors were divided and extinguished; and in the eleventh century, Basil II. accomplished the final destruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria.

The Oriental denomination of the HUNGARIANS is *Magiar*; but they are distinguished by the Greeks under the proper name of *Turks*, as the descendants of that mighty people who had conquered and reigned from China to the Volga. From their primitive country, in the heart of Tartary, they were driven to the West by the tide of war and emigration, and by the weight of the more distant tribes, who at the same time were conquerors and fugitives. Reason or fortune directed their course towards the frontiers of the Roman empire; and in their march they were

were reinforced by several tribes of the Chozars, who introduced a second language, and obtained by their superior renown the most honourable place in the front of battle. The public counsels of the emigrants were directed by seven *vayvods*, or hereditary chiefs, but the experience of discord recommended the vigorous administration of a single person; the sceptre was granted to the merit of Almus and his son Arpad; and the authority of the supreme khan of the Chozars confirmed the engagement of the prince and people; of the people to obey his commands, of the prince to consult their happiness and glory.

It was the observation of Leo the Sixth, that of the Scythian hords, the Bulgarians and Hungarians were superior to their brethren, and similar to each other, in their discipline and government. The tents of the Hungarians were of leather; their garments of fir; they shaved their hair, and scarified their faces; in speech they were slow, in action prompt, in treaty perfidious; whatever they saw, they coveted; their desires were insatiate, and their sole industry was the hand of violence and rapine. For their subsistence they principally depended on fishing and the chase; and in their expeditions, they were accompanied by large flocks and herds, which afforded a constant and wholesome supply of milk and animal food. After some experience of the

Roman tactics, they adopted the use of the sword and spear, the helmet of the soldier, and the iron breast-plate of his steed. But their native and deadly weapon was the Tartar bow; their arm was strong; their aim was sure; in open combat, in secret ambush, in flight or pursuit, they were equally formidable; in the abuse of victory, they astonished Europe; mercy they rarely asked, and more rarely bestowed; and the appetite of both sexes for raw flesh might countenance the popular tale, that they drank the blood, and feasted on the hearts of the slain.

The first conquests and final settlements of the Hungarians, extended on either side of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and beyond the measure of the Roman province of Pannonia, or the modern kingdom of Hungary. In the battle of Augsburgh, the Christians were vanquished by the flying stratagems of the Turks; in a single day their Scythian speed stript a circuit of fifty miles: Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia, were consumed by the rapid victors; the southern provinces of France were blasted by their presence; and Spain, behind her Pyrenees, was astonished at the approach of these formidable strangers. Italy had tempted their early inroads; in a battle near the Brenta, the lives of twenty thousand Christians were forfeited by the rashness of their king, who had

had refused the Barbarians permission to retire ;
Pavia was condemned to the flames ;
and their daring incursions were directed, at the same time, towards the gates of Rome and Constantinople. A. D. 924.

The deliverance of Germany was achieved by the Saxon princes, Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great. The valiant Henry was roused from a bed of sickness by the invasion of his country ; but his mind was vigorous, and his prudence successful ; he fought and conquered. At the end of twenty years, the empire of his son was again invaded by the Turks, A. D. 934. who were invited by domestic faction. Their numbers have been estimated at one hundred thousand horse ; but the policy of Otho had dispelled the conspiracy ; and his valour vanquished and broke for ever A. D. 955. the power of the Hungarians. The spirit of the nation was humbled, and the most accessible passes of Hungary were fortified with a ditch and rampart. Adversity suggested the counsels of moderation and peace ; and the robbers of the West acquiesced in a sedentary life, and employed themselves in the arts of cultivation. The house of Arpad reigned three hundred years in Hungary ; but the free-born Barbarians were not dazzled by the lustre of a diadem, and the people asserted their indefeasible right of choosing, Z 4 deposing,

deposing, and punishing the hereditary servant of the state.

The name of the RUSSIANS in the ninth century was first divulged by an embassy from Theophilus, emperor of the East, to the emperor of the West, Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the

Czar of the Russians. These requested
A. D. 839.

the French monarch to convey them home by sea; and by a closer examination, they were discovered to be the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, already odious to the French. The Normans, impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, had explored every coast that promised spoil or settlement; they visited the eastern shores of the Baltic; and the Russians of the lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the skins of white squirrels, to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of *Varangians*, or corsairs. By choice or conquest, the Varangians gradually obtained the dominion of a people whom they were qualified to protect; and Ruric, a Scandinavian chief, became the father of a dynasty, which reigned above seven hundred years. His brothers extended his influence; his usurpation was imitated by his companions; and their establishments were at length cemented into the fabric of a powerful monarchy.

As soon as the descendants of Ruric had struck
permanent

permanent root in the soil, they beheld with jealousy the annual introduction of the Varangians; and Waladimir first advised these foreign mercenaries to seek a more wealthy master in Greece; the counsel was accepted; the Varangians were entertained by the Byzantine monarch; his person was entrusted to their guard; and these strangers preserved, till the last age of the empire, the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and the use of their native tongue.

The sons of Ruric were masters of the province of Moscow; and if A. D. 950. they were confined on that side by the eastern hords, their western frontier in those early days was enlarged to the Baltic Sea and the country of the Prussians. The two capitals, Novogorod and Kiow, are coeval with the first age of the monarchy; but in their origin, they were no more than camps or fairs, the most convenient stations in which the Barbarians might assemble for the occasional business of war or trade. Between the sea and Novogorod, an easy intercourse was discovered; in the summer, through a gulf, a lake, and a navigable river; in the winter season, over the hard and level surface of boundless snows. From the neighbourhood of that city, the Russians descended the streams that fall into the Borysthenes, and the produce of the North was collected and discharged

charged in the magazines of Kiow. At the mouth of the Borysthenes they repaired their shattered vessels for the longer and more perilous voyage of the Black Sea. If they steered along the coast, the Danube was accessible ; with a fair wind they could reach in forty hours the opposite shores of Anatolia ; and Constantinople admitted the annual visits of the strangers of the North.

But the communication which had been opened for the benefit, was soon abused for the injury, of mankind. The Russians had seen and tasted the luxury of the city of the Cæsars ; the marvellous tale excited the desires of their savage countrymen ; the Varangian princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure ; and the Euxine was again infested with the calamities of a predatory war. In less than two centuries, Constantinople was four times attempted by their squadrons ; and the Greeks were only protected by the seasonable interposition of tempests, or the formidable effects of their liquid fire.

By land, the arms of Swatoslaus, A. D. 955. the third in descent from Ruric, subdued the nations from the Volga to the Danube. The exercise of war gave stability to his army ; and he was bribed by Nicephorus Phocas to undertake the conquest of Bulgaria. With an army of sixty thousand men, he effected his landing on

on the Mælian shore; the Bulgarians were defeated; and the country ravaged as far as Mount Hæmus; but instead of relinquishing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Varangian prince reinforced his army with the bands of the Chozars and Turks, invested the perfidious ambassador of Nicephorus with the purple, and from the banks of the Danube pursued his march as far as Adrianople.

Nicephorus Phocas was no more; but his throne and wife were inherited by John Zimisces, who, in a diminutive body, possessed the spirit and abilities of an hero. The Russians had already been checked by the arms of his lieutenants; but seventy thousand Barbarians were still in arms; and the emperor himself, in the ensuing spring, prepared to march against them; he recalled the legions from Syria, secured the passes of mount Hæmus, reduced Marcianapolis, and encompassed and assaulted Swatoslaus, in the strong post of Dristra, on the banks of the Danube. After a siege of sixty-five days, the Russian prince
A. D. 973.
was compelled to yield to his adverse fortune; after binding himself by solemn imprecations to relinquish all hostile designs, he was dismissed by the liberal policy of the victor; but after he had reached the mouth of the Borysthenes on his return, Swatoslaus was surprised and oppressed by
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the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks entertained a perpetual and useful correspondence.

Olga, the widow of Igor, had revenged the death, and assumed the sceptre, of her husband. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace, she failed for Constantinople, and in the

A. D. 955.

sacrament of baptism received the venerable name of the empress Helena ; but on her return, her labours in the propagation of the gospel were not attended with the desirable effect. Her son Swatoslaus apprehended the ridicule of his companions ; and her grandson Wolodomir devoted his zeal to decorate the monuments of ancient worship. Yet the example of Olga made a deep though secret impresson on the minds of the prince and people : and the conversion of Wolodomir was hastened by his desire of a Ro-

A. D. 938.

man bride. At the same time, and in the city of Cherson, the rites of baptism and marriage were celebrated by the Christian pontiff ; Wolodomir espoused the sister of the emperor Basil, and his edict proclaimed that all who should refuse the baptismal fount, would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince ; the rivers were instantly filled with many thousands of obedient subjects ; and the Russians acquiesced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke and his boyars.

In

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of the Christian æra, the reign of the gospel and the church was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia. The first conversions were free and spontaneous; but the leaders of nations, who were saluted with the titles of kings and saints, soon held it lawful and pious to impose the catholic faith on their subjects and neighbours. The coast of the Baltic, from Holstein to Finland, was invaded under the standard of the cross; and the reign of idolatry was closed by the conversion of Lithuania in the fourteenth century. The conversion of the North imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and new Christians. Europe was delivered from the depredations of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians; the establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of arts and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe.

 CHAPTER XL.

THE SARACENS, FRANKS, AND GREEKS, IN ITALY—
 FIRST ADVENTURES AND SETTLEMENT OF THE
 NORMANS—CHARACTER AND CONQUESTS OF
 ROBERT GUISCARD, DUKE OF APULIA—DELI-
 VERANCE OF SICILY BY HIS BROTHER
 ROGER—VICTORIES OF ROBERT OVER
 THE EMPERORS OF THE EAST AND WEST
 —ROGER, KING OF SICILY, INVADES
 AFRICA AND GREECE—THE EM-
 PEROR MANUEL COMNENUS—
 WARS OF THE GREEKS AND
 NORMANS—EXTINCTION OF
 THE NORMANS.

ON the theatre of Italy, the three great na-
 tions of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens,
 and the Franks, encountered each other. The
 southern provinces were subject, for the most
 part, to the Lombard dukes and princes of Bene-
 ventum. The rival chiefs of Benevento, Salerno,
 and Capua, inflamed by ambitious competition,
 invited

invited the Saracens to the ruin of their common inheritance. For two hundred years the frequent and annual squadrons of the faithful issued from the port of Palermo; their more formidable fleets were prepared on the African coast; and the Arabs of Andalusia were sometimes tempted to assist, or oppose, the Moslems, of an adverse sect. Their impartial depredations from Bari, which commands the Adriatic Gulf, provoked, and united the two emperors, Basil the Macedonian, and Lewis, the great grandson of Charlemagne. The fortress of Bari was invested by the infantry of the Franks, the galleys and cavalry of the Greeks; and, after a defence of four years, the Arabian emir submitted to Lewis, who commanded, in person, the operations of the siege. This important conquest had been achieved by the concord of the East and West; but their recent amity was soon embittered by the mutual complaints of jealousy and pride; and their visionary enterprises were finally extinguished by the death of Lewis, and the decay of the Carlovingian house.

A. D. 871.

Bari submitted to the authority of Basil, and his son Leo; the Italians of Apulia and Calabria were persuaded to acknowledge their supremacy; Amalfi and Naples had constantly retained their allegiance to the Byzantine court; but the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and

and Capua, were reluctantly torn from the communion of the Latin world, and too often violated their oaths of servitude and tribute. As long as the sceptre was disputed by the princes of Italy, the Greeks resisted or eluded the forces of Germany. The first and greatest of the Saxon princes was compelled to relinquish the siege of Bari; the second, Otho the Third, A. D. 983. was defeated, and escaped with difficulty from the field of Crotona; but the rapid success of the Norman adventurers dispelled the flattering illusions of the successors of Basil, who amused themselves with the belief, that they had achieved the conquest of Lombardy.

The establishment of the Normans in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, is an event the most important in its consequences both to Italy and the Eastern empire. The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, had been invaded on every side by the adventurous spirit of the Scandinavian pirates. The Normans, after a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, accepted an ample territory in France; they embraced the Christian faith; and their dukes professed themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. They imbibed the manners, language, and gallantry of the French nation; their pilgrimages to Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land, were frequent and zealous; they confederated

federated for their mutual defence; and the robbers of the Alps, who had been allured by the garb of a pilgrim, were often chastised by the arm of a warrior. In a pious visit to a cavern of Mount Garganus in Apulia, which had been sanctified by the apparition of the arch-angel Michael, they were accosted by a stranger, who soon revealed himself as a rebel, a fugitive, and a mortal foe to the Greek empire. His name was Melo, a noble citizen of Bari, who after an unsuccessful revolt, was compelled to seek new allies and avengers of his country. The Normans listened to his complaints and promises; described, on their return, the prospect of plunder; and a small band was freely associated for the deliverance of Apulia. They passed the Alps in the disguise of pilgrims; but they were overwhelmed by the numbers of the Greeks; the unfortunate Melo ended his life, a suppliant in Germany; and his Norman followers wandered among the hills and vallies of Italy, and earned their daily subsistence by the sword. The princes of Capua, Benevento, Salerno, and Naples, alternately engaged their support. Their superior valour and discipline gave victory to the cause they espoused; and the liberality of the duke of Naples, eight miles from his residence, as a bulwark against

A. D. 1029.

Capua, built and fortified for their use the town of Averfa. The report of their success attracted

every year new swarms of pilgrims and soldiers; the independent standard of Averfa afforded shelter and encouragement to every fugitive who had escaped from the justice or injustice of his superiors; and the acknowledged merit of count Rainulf raised him to be first leader of the Normans.

The Grecian emperors had been anxious to regain from the Arabs the possession of Sicily, but their efforts had been continually baffled; the internal divisions of the Saracens renewed their hopes; the emir disclaimed the authority of the king of Tunis; the people rose against the emir; each rebel was independent in his village or castle; and the weaker of two rival brothers implored

A. D. 1038. the friendship of the Christians. Five hundred Norman warriors marched under the banner of the Greeks; before they could land in Sicily, the rival brothers were reconciled; the union of that island and Africa was restored; and the coast was guarded by the numerous forces of the faithful: but the Norman valour despised all obstacles; in three successive engagements the Saracens were routed; and Maniaces, the general of the Greeks, reduced thirteen cities, and the greater part of Sicily, under the obedience of the emperor; but his avarice excluded his gallant auxiliaries from the division of the spoil. They complained by the

the mouth of their interpreter; their complaints were disregarded, and their interpreter scourged. The injury and insult provoked their resentment; but they dissembled till their return to the Italian continent; their brethren of Averfa espoused their indignation; with seven hundred horse and five hundred foot, they invaded Apulia; and the Byzantine legions, amounting to three-
 score thousand men, were defeated in A. D. 1040.
1043.
 two successive battles. Bari, Otranto, Brundisium, and Tarentum, alone remained of the Grecian empire in Apulia. From this æra we may date the establishment of the Norman power. Twelve counts were chosen by the popular suffrage; and William of Hauteville, surnamed the *Iron Arm*, presided in this military senate. Melphi was appointed as the common habitation and citadel of the republic; but each count erected a fortress in, and collected the tribute of, the peculiar district appropriated to his use.

The Normans were seated on the verge of the two empires; and according to the policy of the hour they accepted the investiture of their lands from the sovereigns of Germany, or Constantinople; but the firmest title of these adventures was the sword. The twelve counts were sometimes joined in a league of injustice, and sometimes they disputed, in domestic quarrels, the spoils of the people. Drogo, the brother and

successor of William, was better qualified to lead the valour, than to restrain the violence of his peers. To relieve Italy from their ravages, an offensive alliance was formed of the two emperors of the East and West, and Pope Leo the Ninth, whose venerable character would consecrate with the name of piety, the measures of policy. As a German of royal kindred, Leo possessed the confidence of the emperor Henry the Third; and his ardent zeal transported him to Saxony in search of allies: but during these preparations, Argyrus, the son of Melo, who had been commissioned by the Greek emperor to restore the imperial authority in Apulia, was de-

A. D. 1051. feated by the Normans, and compelled to retire within the walls of Bari; he had previously procured the assassination of Drogo; but Humphrey, by a decisive victory, avenged the death of his brother, and succeeded him as the third count of Apulia.

The power of Constantine Monomachus was distracted by a Turkish war; the mind of Henry was feeble and irresolute; his assistance consisted only of seven hundred Swabians, and some volunteers of Lorraine; with these, and a promiscuous multitude of Italians, the pope
A. D. 1053. advanced to Beneventum. The Normans could muster no more than three thousand horse, with a handful of infantry. Their spirit was

was chilled with superstitious awe; they prostrated themselves before their spiritual father; but the only alternative proposed by Leo was death or exile; the conquerors of Apulia assumed their former courage; in the plain of Civitella, the Italians were routed, the Germans slain, and the pope captured by the valour of Richard of Aversa, Robert, the famous Guiscard, and Humphrey, count of Apulia; but the conquerors beheld with veneration the person of the pope, and implored his absolution of their sinful victory. A treaty was concluded, by which the past and future conquests of the Normans were sanctioned; the adventurers acknowledged the claim of the pope, by the payment of twelve pence for every plough-land; and since this memorable transaction, the kingdom of Naples has remained above seven hundred years a fief of the holy see.

Tancred, sprung from the middle order of the Normans, was, by his two marriages, the father of twelve sons. Of these ten departed from Hauteville, the paternal castle in Lower Normandy, in search of a more ample fortune. William, Drogo, and Humphrey, were successively the chiefs of the new republic; Robert was the eldest of the seven sons of the second marriage; in the battle of Civitella he was adjudged to have borne away the prize of valour; his boundless ambi-

tion was founded on the consciousness of superior worth; and his surname of *Guiscard*, which the Normans interpret by *callidus*, *cunning*, was expressive of his political wisdom. His brothers and countrymen had divided the fertile lands of Apulia, but they guarded their shares with the jealousy of avarice: the aspiring youth was impelled forwards to the mountains of Calabria; to surprise a castle, or a convent, was at first the extent of his enterprises; but the volunteers of Normandy flocked to his standard, and the peasants of Calabria assumed, under his command, the name and character of Normans.

On the death of his elder brother Humphrey, Guiscard, to the prejudice of his nephew, was exalted on a buckler, and saluted count of Apulia and general of the republic. He resumed the conquest of Calabria; and his obsequious devotion to pope Nicolas obtained for himself and his posterity the ducal title, with the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and all the lands, both in Italy and Sicily, which his sword could rescue from the schismatic Greeks, and the unbelieving Saracens. The soldiers hailed with acclamations their valiant duke; but the free voice of his parliament of barons sometimes opposed his designs; the twelve counts of popular election conspired against his authority; and the sons of Humphrey demanded justice and revenge against

against their perfidious uncle. Their plots were discovered; their rebellions suppressed; and the guilty punished with exile or death; but the national strength was unprofitably consumed in these domestic feuds; and it was four years before the fortress of Bari could be reduced by the Norman arms.

The Italian conquests of Robert correspond with the limits of the present kingdom of Naples, and extended over the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia, the Lombard principality of Salerno, the republic of Amalphi, and the inland dependencies of the duchy of Beneventum. Three districts only were exempted; the immediate territory of Benevento, which had been transferred from the German emperor to the Roman pontiff, and was protected by the name of St. Peter; the state of Capua, which was subdued and held by the first colony of Averfa; and the dukes of Naples, the present metropolis, who maintained the popular freedom, under the shadow of the Byzantine empire; but the acquisitions of Guiscard contained the science of Salerno, and the trade of Amalphi.

Roger, the twelfth and last of the sons of Tancred, had long been detained in Normandy by his own, and his father's age; he at length was summoned to the Apulian camp; and his invasion of Sicily was seconded by the zeal and

A. D. 1060. policy of his brother Guiscard. At the head of fixty followers, he landed on a hostile shore; drove the Saracens to the gates of Messina; and safely returned with the spoils of the adjacent country. In the fortrefs of Trani, his active and patient courage were equally conspicuous; and with three hundred Normans he repulsed the forces of the island. In the field of Ceramio, the Saracens were again overthrown; and in the siege of Palermo, Roger was stimulated by the presence of his brother Guiscard, who seconded his efforts with the gallies of Pisa. After a war of thirty years, Roger, with the title

A. D. 1090. of great count, obtained the sovereignty of the largest and most fruitful island of the Mediterranean; and his administration displays a liberal and enlightened mind above the limits of his age and education. The Moslems were maintained in the free enjoyment of their religion and property; the island was restored to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff; new bishops were planted, and the clergy amply endowed; but the Catholic hero asserted the right of the civil magistrate; the papal claims on the investiture of benefices he applied to his own profit; and the supremacy of the crown was secured and enlarged by the bull, which declares the princes of Sicily hereditary and perpetual legates of the holy see.

The

The possession of Apulia and Calabria was inadequate to the ambition of Robert Guiscard; and he resolved to embrace the first occasion of invading the Roman empire of the East. He had been divorced from his first wife, under the pretence of consanguinity; and her son Bohemond was destined to imitate, rather than succeed, his illustrious father. The second wife of Guiscard was the daughter of the prince of Salerno. Roger, the son of this marriage, succeeded to Robert as duke of Apulia; and of five daughters, one was betrothed to Constantine, the son and heir of the emperor Michael; but the throne of the family of Ducas was subverted by a revolution; and Robert deplored and resented the disgrace of his daughter, and the expulsion of his ally. He adopted the pretensions of an adventurer who called himself the father of Constantine; and the cause of the fictitious Michael was espoused by the subtle Guiscard, who had contrived the fraud. Two years were consumed in assiduous preparations; the land and naval forces were assembled at Otranto; Robert was accompanied by his wife, who fought by his side, his son Bohemond, and the pretended Michael; and thirteen hundred knights of Norman race formed the sinews of an army, which might be swelled to thirty thousand followers of every denomination.

The

The islands and maritime towns of Epirus were rapidly subdued by the arms and name of Robert; and from Corfu, he moved with his fleet and army to the siege of Durazzo. A. D. 1081. The fortifications of that city were defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of George Palæologus. Part of the fleet of Robert was shipwrecked on the Acroceraunian rocks; the remainder was vanquished by the naval powers of the Venetians, who had been solicited by the prayers and promises of the Byzantine Court; the camp of the Normans was afflicted by a pestilential disease, which swept off ten thousand persons; but amidst every disaster, the mind of Guiscard was invincible; he collected fresh forces from Sicily and Apulia; and urged the siege of Durazzo with unabated ardour.

Alexius, the founder of the Comnenian dynasty, had ascended the throne of Constantinople; he concluded an immediate peace with the Turks, and with an army of seventy thousand men, hastily assembled, pressed forward to the relief of Durazzo. His prudence dictated to him, and his numbers enabled him, to surround and starve the distressed besiegers; but the clamours of his troops, impatient of subordination, compelled him to hazard a speedy and decisive action. On the approach of the Greeks, Robert assembled a
council

council of his principal officers. "You behold," said he, "your danger; it is urgent and inevitable. The hills are covered with arms and standards; and the emperor of the Greeks is accustomed to wars and triumphs. Obedience and union are our only safety; and I am ready to yield the command to a more worthy leader." Affured of the esteem of his followers, the duke continued, "Let us trust in the rewards of victory, and deprive cowardice of the means of escape. Let us burn our vessels and our baggage, and give battle on this spot, as if it were the place of our nativity and our burial." The resolution was approved; and Guiscard, without confining himself to his lines, awaited the approach of the enemy, on the same ground, perhaps, on which Cæsar and Pompey had disputed the empire of the world.

On the first onset, the Varangians, who attended the person of the Greek emperor, made a bloody impression on the army of Guiscard, which was now reduced to fifteen thousand men. The Lombards and Calabrians ignominiously turned their backs; Gaita, the wife of Robert, though wounded by an arrow, still maintained her ground, and strove, by her example, to rally the flying troops. The voice and arm of her husband was more powerful. "Whither," he cried aloud, "whither do you fly? your enemy
is

“ is implacable; and death is less grievous than
 “ servitude.” The battle was restored; the Va-
 A. D. 1081. rangians were slaughtered, the Turks
 Oct. 18. fled, the Greeks were dispersed; and
 the emperor Alexius, who had discharged the
 duties of a general and a soldier, burst through
 surrounding enemies, and after wandering two
 days and nights in the mountains, entered the
 friendly walls of Lychnidus. Of the Norman
 knights only thirty fell, but with these perished
 the impostor Michael, whose death was more
 honourable than his life.

The victors were introduced into Durazzo by
 A. D. 1082. the treachery of a Venetian. From
 Feb. 8. that city, the Norman duke advanced
 into the heart of Epirus, traversed the first moun-
 tains of Thessaly, approached Thessalonica,
 and made Constantinople tremble. He was re-
 called from this rapid progress by the revolt of
 the cities and barons of Apulia, the distress of
 the pope, and the invasion of Henry, king of
 Germany. He repassed the sea in a single brig-
 antine, and left the army under the command of
 Bohemond. The son of Guiscard trod in the
 footsteps of his father; after winning two battles
 against the emperor, he descended into the plain
 of Thessaly, and besieged Larissa. Alexius had
 been taught experience by his defeats; every ar-
 tifice of war was called in to his support; the
 camp

camp of Bohemond was pillaged by a stratagem of the Greeks; the city of Larissa was impregnable; the discontented counts abandoned the Norman standard; and the son of Guiscard, evacuating the conquest he could no longer defend, embarked for Italy, and was embraced by a father, who esteemed his merit, and sympathized in his misfortunes.

The invasion of Italy by the king of Germany was first excited by a spark of enmity to pope Gregory the Seventh; the flame was spread by the liberality of the emperor, and extinguished by the valour of the duke of Apulia. The Roman pontiff was already besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, when Guiscard unfurling the holy banner, advanced at the head of six thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, to the relief of the prince of the apostles. Henry trembled at his approach; he hastily retreated three days before the entrance of the Normans; and Robert, in less than three years, enjoyed the proud satisfaction of delivering the pope, and compelling the two emperors of the East and West to fly before his victorious arms; but the triumph of Robert was clouded by the calamities of Rome; an hasty word of the conqueror was the signal of sedition; the holy city was profaned by the licentious vices of the citizens, the Saracens, and the Normans; and a spacious

A. D. 1084.

cious quarter of Rome, from the Lateran to the Coliseum, was consumed by the flames, and devoted to perpetual solitude.

In the same year of the flight of the German emperor, the indefatigable Robert resumed the design of his eastern conquests. His fleet, either by neglect, or the change of wind, passed through the united navies of the Greeks and Venetians; the Norman troops were safely disembarked on the coast of Epirus; and Robert, A. D. 1084. with twenty well-appointed gallies, fought the squadrons of the enemy, and trusted his life to the event of a naval combat; two engagements were indecisive; but in the third the Normans obtained a final and complete victory. The brigantines of the Greeks were scattered in ignominious flight; of the nine larger vessels of the Venetians, seven were sunk, and two were taken. In the ensuing spring, the arms of Robert were turned against Greece and the islands; but while he aspired to the conquest of Constantinople, his projects were blasted by an epidemical disease; and Robert, in the seventieth year of his age, expired in the island of Cephalonia, not without some suspicion of poison being imputed to his wife, or the Greek emperor. On his death, the victorious Normans retreated in disorder and consternation; his son Roger sunk to the humble station of duke of Apulia; but the valiant

valiant Bohemond, to whom his father's esteem had devolved the inheritance of his sword, disturbed the national tranquillity till the first crusade against the infidels of the East opened a more splendid field of glory and conquest.

The male line of Robert Guiscard was extinguished, both in Apulia and Antioch, in the second generation; but his younger brother became the father of a line of kings; and the son of the great count was endowed with the name, the conquests, and the spirit of the first Roger. At the age of only four years, he succeeded to the sovereignty of the island. On the

death of his cousin William, of Apu-

A. D. 1101.

lia, Roger sailed from Palermo with seven gallies, cast anchor in the bay

A. D. 1127.

of Salerno, received an oath of fidelity from the Norman capital, and extorted a legal investiture from the pope. He soon reduced Capua and Naples, and disdaining the titles of duke and count, he accepted that of king of Sicily from pope Anacletus, whose apostolic authority was attacked by the adverse election of Innocent the Second. The choice of an ecclesiastical patron had near proved fatal to the monarchy of Roger. The sword of Lothaire the Second of Germany, the excommunications of Innocent, and the fleets of Pisa, were united for the ruin of the Sicilian robber. The new monarch was driven from

Apulia;

Apulia; but, with the retreat of the German armies, he returned; extirminated a feeble rival who had been invested with the dukedom, became the master and friend of the haughty pontiff, and promised, as a penance for his war against the successor of St. Peter, to display the banner of the cross, a vow propitious to his interest and revenge.

The dissensions of the Moslems opened the sea-coasts of Africa to the enterprises of the Greeks and Franks, who, before the close of the eleventh century, had extorted a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. The recent injuries of Sicily might provoke a just retaliation on the heads of the Saracens. By the first arms of Roger, the island, or rock, of Malta, which has been since ennobled by a military and religious colony, was inseparably annexed to the A. D. 1122. crown of Sicily. Tripoli was the next

1152. object of his successful attacks. Mahadia, the capital of Africa, was abandoned to the rapacious invaders. In successive expeditions, the king of Sicily, or his lieutenants, reduced the cities of Tunis, Safax, Capfia, Bona, and a long tract of sea-coast. The fortresses were garri-soned, the country was tributary, and Roger might undoubtedly inscribe on his sword, that it held Africa in subjection. After his death, that sword was broken; and these trans-marine possessions,

essions were neglected, evacuated, or lost, under the troubled reign of his successor.

Roger, exasperated by the contemptuous treatment of his ambassadors at the Byzantine court, resumed the hostile designs of Robert Guiscard, against the empire of the East. George, the admiral of Sicily, received the submission of Corfu, spread the ter-
A. D. 1146.
ror of the Norman name over the provinces of Greece, and violated by rapine and cruelty the venerable age of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth. The progress of this naval armament was marked by two conspicuous events,—the rescue of the king of France, and the insult of the Byzantine capital. Louis the Seventh, in his return by sea from an unfortunate crusade, was basely intercepted by the Greeks; the royal captive was delivered by the fortunate encounter of the Norman fleet. Constantinople and the Hellespont, in the absence of the Greek emperor, were left without the suspicion of danger; the Sicilian admiral cast anchor in the front of the imperial city, landed some soldiers to rifle the royal gardens, and pointed his arrows against the palace of the Cæsars. The resentment of Manuel soon covered the Archipelago and the Ionian Sea, with his own squadrons, and those of Venice; nineteen of the galleys of George were separated and taken; and Corfu implored the clemency of

her lawful monarch. The life and prosperity of Roger were no more ; and the emperor of the Greeks aspired to recover from William the First the provinces of Italy and Sicily, and to chastise this pretended king, the grandson of a Norman vassal. His lieutenant Palæologus, with a fleet and army, reduced Bari by force or corruption ; in two campaigns, the Norman prince lost the greater part of his continental possessions, and Manuel claimed the indefeasible dominion of Italy, and professed his design of chasing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. But these conquests soon eluded the grasp of the Greek emperor ; his ambassadors had invited pope Alexander the Third to join in seizing the favourable occasion of humbling the pride of the Germans ; the politic pontiff paused on this momentous revolution ; he reconciled himself with Frederic Barbarossa, the German monarch, rejected the proposals of Manuel, and at length excommunicated his adherents ; the death of the gallant Palæologus devolved the command on several chiefs as conspicuous for their rank, as they were defective in military talents ; Apulia and Calabria were recovered by the king of Sicily ; the Greeks were oppressed by sea and land ; and those who escaped the swords of the Normans, abjured all future hostility against the person or dominions of their conqueror. Yet the king of Sicily

A. D. 1154.

Sicily respected the constancy of Manuel, who had landed a second army on the Italian shore. He solicited a truce of thirty years, accepted the regal title as a gift, and acknowledged himself the military vassal of the Roman empire. About the end of that term, the throne of Manuel was usurped by the tyrant Andronicus; the sword of William the Second, the grandson of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive of the Comnenian race; but the troops of Sicily were chiefly employed in the sack of Thessalonica; and Isaac Angelus, the new Grecian emperor, avenged the calamities of that city by the slaughter of ten thousand Normans.

The sceptre of Roger successively devolved to his son and grandson, confounded under the name of William, but strongly discriminated by the epithets of *bad* and *good*. The first William did not degenerate from the valour of his race; but his temper was slothful, his manners dissolute, and his passions headstrong. Private feuds, and the various forms of calamity and discord, afflicted Palermo, the island, and the continent, during the reign of William the First, and the minority of his son. The youth, innocence, and beauty of William the Second endeared him to the nation; the factions were reconciled, the laws were

revived, and from the manhood to the death of that prince, Italy enjoyed a short season of peace, justice, and happiness. In the person of William the Second, the legitimate male posterity of Tancred of Hauteville was extinct; but the daughter of Roger had married Henry the Sixth of Germany, and that prince descended from the Alps to claim the inheritance of his wife. The free election of Tancred, the illegitimate grandson of Roger, for four years withstood the arms of Germany; but the death of that valiant prince once more exposed Apulia to the power and claims of Henry, who pursued his victorious march from Capua to Palermo. Ten years after this revolution, the French monarchy annexed to their crown the duchy of Normandy. The sceptre of her ancient dukes had been transmitted by a grand-daughter of William the Conqueror to the house of Plantagenet; and the adventurous Normans were lost either in victory or servitude among the nations they had vanquished.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE TURKS OF THE HOUSE OF SELJUK—THEIR REVOLT AGAINST MAHMUD, CONQUEROR OF HINDOSTAN—TOGRUL SUBDUES PERSIA, AND PROTECTS THE CALIPHS—DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF THE EMPEROR ROMANUS DIOGENES BY ALP ARSLAN—POWER OF MALEK SHAH—CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR—CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM.

WHILE Apulia and Sicily were subdued by the Norman lance, the thrones of Asia were occupied by slaves and soldiers of Turkish extraction, whose Scythian empire had been long dissolved. Mamood, or Mahmud, one of the greatest of the Turkish princes, A. D. 997. reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia, one thousand years after the birth of Christ. His father Sebestagi was the domestic slave to a lieutenant of the Samanides, who broke by his revolt the bonds of political subjection;

and Sebestagi, by his courage and dexterity, raised himself from servitude in the family of that rebel, to the supreme command of the city and province of Gazna, as the son-in-law and successor of his grateful master. Amidst the public disorders, the fortune of Mahmud continually increased. For him the title of *sultan* was first invented; and his kingdom was enlarged from Tranfoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. The war which he waged against the Gentoos of Hindostan, was the principal source of his fame and riches. The height of the mountains, the breadth of the rivers, the barrenness of the Desert, or the multitudes of the enemy, never dismayed the musfulman hero. He marched over the hills of Cashmir and Thibet; reached the famous city of Kinnoge on the Upper Ganges; on one of the branches of the Indus, he vanquished in a naval combat four thousand boats of the natives; Dehli, Lahor, and Multan, were compelled to open their gates; and the fertile kingdom of Guzarat attracted his ambition and tempted his stay. On the payment of a tribute, the *rajahs* preserved their dominions; but the zealous musfulman was inexorable to the religion of Hindostan; the pagodas were levelled to the ground; the idols were demolished; and the zeal of the servants of the prophet

phet was quickened by the riches with which they were adorned. The pagoda of Sunnat was situated on the promontory of Guzarat in the neighbourhood of Diu. It was endowed with the revenue of two thousand villages; and the race of fanatics, who inhabited the city and adjacent country, believed, if the impious stranger should approach their *holy* limits, he would surely be overwhelmed by a blast of the divine vengeance; the death of fifty thousand by the spears of the faithful, convinced them of their fatal error; the conqueror aimed a blow of his iron mace at the head of the idol; the trembling brahmins are reported to have offered ten millions sterling for his ransom; the counsellors of Mahmud pressed him to accept it: "Your reasons," replied the sultan, "are specious and strong; but never in the eyes of posterity shall Mahmud appear as a merchant of idols." He repeated his blows, and a treasure of pearls and rubies, concealed in the statue, rewarded his zeal, and explained the devout anxiety of the brahmins.

The justice and magnanimity of Mahmud are attested by two familiar stories.—I. As he sat in the divan, a subject accused before the throne the insolence of a Turkish soldier, who had driven him from his house and bed. "Suspend your clamours," said Mahmud; "inform me of his next visit, and ourself in person will

“ judge and punish the offender.” The sultan followed his guide, invested the house with his guards, and, extinguishing his torches, pronounced the death of the criminal, who had been seized in the act of rapine and adultery. After the execution of his sentence, the lights were re-kindled, Mahmud fell prostrate in prayer, and, rising from the ground, demanded some homely fare, which he devoured with the voraciousness of hunger. The poor man, whose injury he had avenged, was unable to suppress his astonishment and curiosity; and the courteous monarch condescended to explain the motives of this singular behaviour. “ I had reason to suspect, that
“ none, except one of my sons, could dare to
“ perpetrate such an outrage; and I extinguished
“ the lights, that my justice might be blind and
“ inexorable. My prayer was a thanksgiving
“ on the discovery of the offender; and so painful was my anxiety, that I had passed three
“ days without food since the first moment of
“ your complaint.”—II. The sultan of Gazna had declared war against the dynasty of the Bowides, the sovereigns of the western Persia. He was disarmed by an epistle of the sultana mother, and delayed his invasion till the manhood of her son. “ During the life of my husband,” said the artful regent, “ I was ever
“ apprehensive of your ambition: he was a
“ prince

“ prince and a soldier worthy of your arms. He
“ is now no more ; his sceptre has passed to a
“ woman and a child, and you *dare* not attack
“ their infancy and weakness. How inglorious
“ would be your conquest ! how shameful your
“ defeat ! and yet the event of war is in the
“ hand of the Almighty.” Avarice was the only
defect that tarnished the illustrious character of
Mahmud ; and that passion was richly satiated by
the virgin spoils of Hindostan. But the instabi-
lity of human greatness disturbed the repose of
his declining years ; and his grief was embittered
by the hostile progress of the Turkmans, whom
he had introduced into the heart of his Persian
kingdom.

Two considerable branches of the Turkmans
extend on either side of the Caspian Sea. The
western colony can muster forty thousand sol-
diers ; the eastern, less obvious to the traveller,
but more strong and populous, has increased to
the number of one hundred thousand families. In
the midst of civilized nations, they preserve the
manners of the Scythian Desert, remove their
encampments with the change of seasons, and
feed their cattle among the ruins of palaces.
Their wandering life maintains the spirit and ex-
ercise of arms ; they fight on horseback ; and
their courage is displayed in frequent contests
with each other, and with their neighbours. For
the

the licence of pasture, they pay a slight tribute to the sovereign of the land; but the domestic jurisdiction is in the hands of the chiefs and the elders.

The first emigration of the eastern Turkmans may be ascribed to the tenth century of the Christian æra. In the decline of the caliphs, several of the wandering tribes, embracing the Mahometan faith, obtained free encampments in the spacious plains of Transoxiana and Carizme. These emigrations and settlements were encouraged by Mahmud beyond the example of former times; he was admonished of his error by a chief of the race of Seljuk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara. The sultan had enquired what supply of men he could furnish for military service. "If you send," replied Ismael, "one of these arrows into our camp, fifty thousand of your servants will mount on horseback." "And if that number," continued Mahmud, "should not be sufficient?" "Send this second arrow to the hord of Balik, and you will find fifty thousand more." "But," said the sultan, dissembling his anxiety, "if I should stand in need of the whole force of your kindred tribes?" "Dispatch my bow," was the last reply of Ismael, "and as it is circulated round, the summons will be obeyed by two hundred thousand horse." The apprehensions of Mahmud

mud induced him to transport the most obnoxious tribes into the heart of Chorasan.

But the absence and death of the sultan of Gazna relaxed the vigour of government :
A. D. 1028.

the shepherds were converted into robbers ; the bands of robbers were collected into an army of conquerors ; and the Turkmans were not afraid to measure their strength with Massoud, the son and successor of Mahmud. That prince marched in person against the formidable host of invaders, who attacked him on all sides with barbarous shouts and irregular onset ;

A. D. 1038.
the personal valour of Massoud was ineffectual ; the sultan was abandoned by the cowardice or treachery of some generals of Turkish race ; and this memorable day of Zendecan founded in Persia the dynasty of the shepherd kings.

The Turkmans immediately proceeded to the election of a king ; and if we can credit a Latin historian, the choice of their new master was determined by lot. A number of arrows were inscribed successively with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate ; they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child ;
A. D. 1038.
and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg, the son of Michael, the son of Seljuk. The latter appears to have been a chief of power and renown ; and was banished from Turkestan for an intrusion into the harem of his prince.

prince. He passed the Jaxartes with a numerous tribe of friends and vassals, encamped in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, embraced the religion of Mahomet, and acquired the crown of martyrdom in a war against the infidels; yet Seljuk, before his glorious fate, had attained the age of an hundred and seven years; he beheld the death of his son, and adopted the care of his grandsons Togrul and Jaafar, the eldest of whom was invested with the title of sultan, in the royal city of Nishabur. The virtues of the successful candidate justified the determination of chance; he expelled the Gaznavides from the eastern kingdoms of Persia, and gradually drove them to the banks of the Indus; he annihilated in the West the dynasty of the Bowides; by the conquest of Media he approached the Roman confines, and his ambassadors demanded the tribute and obedience of the emperor of Constantinople. In his own dominions Togrul was the father of his soldiers and people; and his firm and equal administration relieved Persia from the evils of anarchy. The more rustic of the Turks continued, under their native princes, to dwell in their tents from the Oxus to the Euphrates; but the Turks of the court imitated the dress, language, and manners of the Persians; and the royal palaces of Nishabur and Rei displayed the magnificence of a great monarchy. The whole body of the Turkish nation

nation nation embraced with fervour the religion of Mahomet; and the first of the Seljukian sovereigns was conspicuous by his zeal and faith: each day he repeated the five prayers which are enjoined to the true believers: of each week, the two first days were consecrated by an extraordinary fast; and in every city a mosch was completed before Togrul presumed to lay the foundations of a palace.

Togrul, with the belief of the koran, imbibed a lively reverence for the successor of the prophet. That character was still disputed by the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt; Mahmud had declared himself in favour of the line of Abbas; yet the ungrateful Hashemite had changed with the change of fortune; and, after the victory of Zendecan, he named the Seljukian sultan his temporal vicegerent over the Moslem world. In the execution of this trust, Togrul was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, and obeyed the holy summons which gave a new kingdom to his arms. At the head of an irresistible force, the sultan of Persia marched from

Hamadan, to relieve the commander A. D. 1055.
of the faithful, who was imprisoned in his palace of Bagdad by the revolt of the Turkish and Arabian emirs. Before the presence of the son of Seljuk, the prince of the Bowides disappeared; the heads of the most obstinate rebels were laid

at

at his feet; and he inflicted a lesson of obedience on the people of Mosul and Bagdad. The grateful caliph received Togrul with every mark of honour and respect; declared him the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet; girded him with two scymetars, as the symbols of a double reign over the East and West; and at length bestowed on him his daughter, and mingled the proud blood of the Hashemites with that of a Scythian shepherd. The royal nuptials were followed by the death of Togrul himself; as he left no children, his ne-
A. D. 1063.
phew Alp Arslan succeeded to the title and prerogatives of sultan; and his name, after that of the caliph, was pronounced in the public prayers of the Moslems.

The victories of Nicephorus, Zimisces, and Basil, had once more extended the eastern provinces of Rome as far as Antioch, and the more distant boundaries of Armenia.
A. D. 1050. Twenty-five years after the death of Basil, these provinces were assaulted by myriads of Turkish horse, who overspread a frontier of six hundred miles from Tauris to Arzeroum. Yet the arms of Togrul made not any lasting impression on the Greek empire; the torrent rolled away from the open country; and the sultan retired, without glory or success, from the siege of an Armenian city: but the successor of
Togrul

Togrul displayed the fierceness and generosity which had procured him the name of Alp Arslan, the valiant lion; he passed the Euphrates, entered Cæsarea, the metropolis of Capadocia; and atchieved the final conquest of Armenia and Georgia. In this holy war the Turkish sultan and his son Malek were indefatigable; they penetrated through the woods and vallies of Mount Caucasus; their captives were compelled to promise a spiritual as well as temporal obedience; and instead of their collars and bracelets, an iron horse shoe, a badge of ignominy, was imposed on the infidels, who still adhered to the worship of their fathers.

The Greek empress Eudocia, pressed by the arms of Alp Arslan, gave herself and her sceptre to the hand of a soldier, and Romanus Diogenes was invested with the purple. Within two months after his accession, he quitted Constantinople; and by his spirit and success, the soldiers were taught to act, the subjects to hope, and the enemies to fear. The Turks had penetrated into the heart of Phrygia; and their numerous detachments, in the security of conquest, were scattered over the face of Asia. Laden with spoil, and careless of discipline, they were separately surprised and defeated by the Greeks. In three laborious campaigns, the invaders were driven beyond the Euphrates; in

in the fourth and last, Romanus undertook the deliverance of Armenia. His army consisted of one hundred thousand men; of the promiscuous bands which composed it, the most formidable were the Franks and Normans; and the emperor, confiding in his strength, marched forwards to the siege of Melazkerd, an important fortress in the midway between the cities of Arzeroum and Van.

Alp Arslan had resigned to his emirs the conduct of the war; but on the report of this bold invasion, he flew to the scene of action with forty thousand horse; his rapid evolutions dismayed the superior numbers of the Greeks; the imprudence of the emperor had separated his forces after the reduction of Melazkerd; it was in vain he endeavoured to recal the mercenary Franks; but the fair proposals of the sultan allowed him to secure a retreat, and perhaps a peace; the answer of Romanus was conceived in the tone of insult and defiance. "If the Barbarian wishes for peace, let him evacuate the ground, which he occupies, for the encampment of the Romans, and surrender his city and palace of Rei as the pledge of his sincerity." Alp Arslan smiled at the vanity of his demand, but he wept the death of so many faithful Moslems; after a devout prayer, he proclaimed a free permission to all who were desirous
of

of retiring from the field ; and declared that if he were vanquished, that spot should be the place of his burial. A desultory combat A. D. 1071. was maintained during the greater ^{August.} part of a summer's day ; but in the moment of lassitude the Grecian phalanx, broken by the cowardice of Andronicus, who disgraced the birth of the Cæsars, was overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows. Encompassed by the victorious Turks, Romanus stood alone, firm and intrepid, till he was oppressed and bound by the strength of multitudes. Alp Arslan clasped the hand of his royal captive with tender sympathy ; censured the unworthy subjects who had deserted their valiant prince in the hour of danger ; and assured him that his life and dignity should be inviolate in the hands of a prince, who had learned to respect the majesty of his equals, and the vicissitudes of fortune. In a familiar conversation, Alp Arslan asked him what treatment he expected to receive, and the calm indifference of the emperor displays the freedom of his mind. " If you are cruel," said he, " you will take my life ; if you listen to " pride, you will drag me at your chariot wheels ; " if you consult your interest, you will accept a " ransom, and restore me to my country." " And " what," continued the sultan, " would have " been your own behaviour, had fortune smiled " on your arms?" " Had I vanquished," he

fiercely replied, "I would have inflicted on your body many a stripe." The Turkish conqueror observed, that the Christian law had inculcated the love of enemies and forgiveness of injuries; and nobly declared that he would not imitate an example which he condemned. He dictated the terms of peace at an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty thousand pieces of gold, and his ransom at a million. Romanus was dismissed with rich presents and a military guard; but his subjects had already chosen another monarch; and the sultan would have espoused the cause of his ally, had not his designs been prevented by the defeat, imprisonment, and death of Romanus Diogenes.

The victorious Alp Arslan meditated the glorious conquest of Turkestan, the original seat of the house of Seljuk. He successfully passed the Oxus; but his progress was intercepted by Joseph the Carizmian, who presumed to defend the fortrefs of Berzem against the forces of the East. The sultan reprimanded his captive for his obstinate folly; and the insolent replies of the rebel provoked a sentence, that he should be fastened to four stakes, and left to expire in that situation. The desperate Carizmian rushed with his dagger against the throne; the zeal of the guards was checked by Alp Arslan, who drew his bow; but his foot slipped, the arrow glanced

glanced aside, and he received in his breast the dagger of Joseph, who was A. D. 1072. immediately cut to pieces. “In my youth,” said the dying monarch, “I was advised by a sage to humble myself before God, to distrust my own strength, and never to despise the most contemptible foe. I have neglected these lessons, and my neglect has been deservedly punished. Yesterday, as from an eminence I beheld the numbers, the discipline, and spirit of my armies, the earth seemed to tremble under my feet; and I said in heart, surely thou art the king of the world, the greatest and most invincible of warriors. These armies are no longer mine; and in the confidence of my personal strength, I now fall by the hand of an assassin.” Such were the last words of the sultan, and his stately tomb presented to the passenger this useful inscription. “O ye who have seen the glory of Alp Arslan exalted to the heavens, repair to Maru, and you will behold it buried in the dust.”

Malek Shah established his succession to the throne of Alp Arslan, by a triple victory over an uncle, a cousin, and a brother. On the eve of the battle, as he performed his devotions at Thous, he asked his vizir Nizam, who had knelt beside him, what had been the object of his secret petition; “that your arms may be crowned with victory,” was the answer of the minister;

“ for my part,” replied the generous Malek,
 “ I implored the Lord of hosts, that he would
 “ take from me my life and crown, if my brother
 “ be more worthy than myself to reign over the
 “ Moslems.” The favourable judgment of Heaven
 was ratified by the caliph ; and the sacred title of
 commander of the faithful was communicated to
 a Barbarian : but this Barbarian, by his personal
 merit, and the extent of his empire, was the
 greatest prince of his age ; he reduced Turkef-
 tan, and extended his authority over Cashgar, a
 Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China.
 From the Chinese frontier, he stretched his jurif-
 diction as far as the mountains of Georgia, the
 neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city
 of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia
 Fælix : but his ambassadors had in vain asked in
 marriage a Roman princess ; and while he me-
 ditated the design of fixing his residence at Bag-
 dad, the capital of the Moslems, the sultan was
 summoned by the angel of death, and
 A. D. 1092. with his person the greatness and
 unity of the Turkish empire expired. The eldest
 branch of the Seljuk family established the *Per-
 sian dynasty* ; the three younger, the dynasties of
Kerman, of *Syria*, and of *Roum* ; the first of these
 commanded an obscure dominion on the shores
 of the Indian Ocean ; the second expelled the
 Arabian

Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus; the third invaded the Roman provinces of Asia.

Soliman, the third in descent from Seljuk, had drawn his sword against Malek; they were reconciled by the mediation of the caliph; and Soliman undertook the war against the unbelieving Greeks, and accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Arzeroum to Constantinople, and the unknown regions of the West. Accompanied by his four brothers, he passed the Euphrates; soon pitched his camp in Phrygia, and his cavalry laid waste the country as far as the Hellespont and the Black Sea. The forces of Soliman enabled Botoniates, an aspiring general of the Greeks, to mount the imperial throne, and supplant the feeble son of Eudocia: but the obedience and revenues of the Asiatic provinces were diverted from the new emperor by the Turks; and the dread of the Normans compelled Alexius, in the succeeding reign, to confirm to Soliman his acquisitions in a formal treaty of peace.

Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, was chosen by the sultan as the capital of his new empire; and Antioch was soon oppressed by the arms of an ambitious monarch, who marched six hundred miles in twelve nights to surprise that city; the

dependant cities, as far as Laodicea, and the confines of Aleppo, submitted, without reluctance, or at least without opposition; and the conquests and reign of Soliman from Laodicea to the Thracian Bosphorus, extended thirty days journey in length; and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea. A. D. 1084.

The zeal of pilgrimage towards the eleventh century had encreased beyond the example of former times; the roads to Jerusalem were covered with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their Redeemer. Sultan Toucush, the brother of Malek Shah, asserted his claim to the dominion of Syria and Palestine; but the hereditary command of the holy city and territory was entrusted to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkmans, whose manners still breathed the fierceness of the Desert. From Nice to Jerusalem, the western countries of Asia were a scene of foreign and domestic hostility; the shepherds of Palestine, who held a precarious sway on a doubtful frontier, had neither leisure or capacity to await the slow profits of commercial and religious freedom; the pilgrims were the victims of private rapine, or public oppression; the pathetic tale excited the millions of the West to march

march under the standard of the cross to the relief of the holy land; a spirit of religious chivalry arose; a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling; and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe.

 CHAPTER XLII.

ORIGIN AND NUMBERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.—
 CHARACTERS OF THE LATIN PRINCES—THEIR
 MARCH TO CONSTANTINOPLE—POLICY OF THE
 GREEK EMPEROR—CONQUEST OF NICE, AN-
 TIOCH, AND JERUSALEM—GODFREY, OF
 BOUILLON, FIRST KING OF JERUSALEM.

ABOUT twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the holy sepulchre was visited by an hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy. His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the Christian name. From Jerusalem the pilgrim returned an accomplished fanatic, and determined to rouse the martial nations of Europe to the deliverance of the holy land. Pope Urban the Second received him as a prophet, and applauded his glo-
 rious

rious design; and the zealous missionary, invigorated by the approbation of the pontiff, traversed with speed and success the provinces of Italy and France. His head bare, his feet naked, his meagre body wrapt in a coarse garment, he preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways; when he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their favour, every breast glowed with indignation; the rustic enthusiast inspired the passions which he felt, and Christendom expected with impatience the counsels and decrees of the supreme pontiff.

The council, assembled by Urban for considering this important enterprise, met at Placentia, and consisted of two hundred bishops of Italy, France, Burgundy, Swabia, and Bavaria; four thousand of the clergy, and thirty thousand of the laity attended; and the session of seven days was held in a spacious plain adjacent to the city. The ambassadors of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, were introduced to plead the distress of their sovereign, and the danger of Constantinople. At the sad tale of the misery of their eastern brethren, the assembly burst into tears; and the most

eager

A. D. 1095.
1099.

A. D. 1095.
March.

eager champions declared their readiness instantly to march under the holy banner ; but the prudent pope adjourned the final decision to a second synod ; and in the autumn of the same year, at Clermont, in the territories of the count Auvergne, the Roman pontiff convened A. D. 1095.
November. a council not less numerous or respectable than the synod of Placentia. His eloquence was addressed to a well prepared and impatient audience. His topics were obvious, his exhortation was vehement, his success inevitable. The orator was interrupted by the shouts of thousands, who, with one voice, and in their rustic idiom, exclaimed aloud, “ God wills it ! [God “ wills it ! ” “ It is indeed the will of God,” replied the pope, “ and let this memorable word “ be for ever adopted as your cry of battle, to “ animate the courage of the champions of “ Christ. His cross is the symbol of your salvation ; wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as a “ pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagement.” The proposal was joyfully accepted ; great numbers, both of the clergy and laity, impressed on their garments the sign of the cross ; and after a confession and absolution of their sins, the champions of the cross were dismissed with a superfluous admonition to invite their countrymen and friends ; and their departure for the holy land was fixed to the festival of the assumption,

assumption, the fifteenth of August, of the ensuing year.

In the age of the crusades, the Christians, both of the East and West, were persuaded of the lawfulness and merit of the holy war. They insisted on the right of natural and religious defence, their peculiar title to the holy land, and the impiety of their Pagan and Mahometan foes. The victorious Turks asserted a divine claim of universal empire; in less than thirty years they had subdued the kingdoms of Asia, as far as Jerusalem and the Hellespont; and the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction. To the worldly apprehension of their progress, were added spiritual motives and indulgences. In the middle ages, the bishops and priests interrogated sinners; compelled them to give an account of their thoughts, words, and actions; and prescribed the terms of their reconciliation with God. A year of penance was appreciated at about four pounds sterling for the rich; and at nine shillings for the indigent; it is a maxim of the civil law, that whosoever cannot pay with his purse must pay with his body; the practice of flagellation was adopted by the monks, a cheap though painful equivalent; and a year of penance was taxed at three thousand lashes. In the council of Clermont, the pope proclaimed a *plenary indulgence* to those who should enlist under the
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the banner of the cross; the absolution of *all* their sins, and a full receipt for *all* that might be due of canonical penance. The robber, the incendiary, the homicide, arose by thousands, and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination. To these were superadded less pure temptations; the spoils of a Turkish emir; the flavour of the wines, and the beauty of the Grecian women; and each warrior depended on his sword to carve a plenteous and honourable establishment, which he measured only by the extent of his wishes. These inducements were potent and numerous; the ignorance, which magnified the hopes, diminished the perils of the enterprise, and to defray their preparations, princes alienated their provinces, nobles their lands and castles, and peasants their cattle and the instruments of husbandry.

The fifteenth of August had been fixed in the council of Clermont for the departure of the pilgrims; but the day was anticipated
A. D. 1096. ^{May.} by a croud of thoughtless plebeians, Early in the spring, above sixty thousand of the populace of both sexes, from the confines of France and Lorraine, flocked round Peter the Hermit, and pressed the missionary to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The unqualified fanatic assumed the character of a general, and moved
with

with his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. Their wants and numbers soon compelled them to separate, and Walter the Pennylefs, a valiant though needy foldier, conducted the vanguard of the pilgrims. The footsteps of Peter were closely pursued by the monk Godescal, whose sermons had swept away fifteen or twenty thousand peasants from the villages of Germany. The rear was again pressed by two hundred thousand of the refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, prostitution, and drunkenness. The persecution of the Jews was the first warfare of these enthusiasts; and at Verdun, Treves, Mentz, Spires, and Worms, many thousands of that unhappy people were pillaged and massacred. A remnant was saved by a feigned conversion; but the more obstinate precipitated themselves, their families, and their wealth, into the rivers or the flames; and disappointed, at least the avarice of, their implacable enemies.

In their march through the wild and extensive countries of Hungary and Bulgaria, the disorders of the pilgrims provoked the ferocious nature of the inhabitants; and many myriads of the crusaders were the victims of their indignation and revenge. About a third of the naked fugitives, and the hermit Peter was of the number, escaped to the Thracian mountains; they were conducted

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to Constantinople by easy journies; and transported to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, by the caution of the emperor Alexius, who advised them to await the arrival of their brethren. Their blind impetuosity soon urged them to desert the station which he had assigned them, and to rush headlong against the Turks, who occupied the road to Jerusalem; Peter the Hermit, had withdrawn from the camp to Constantinople; Walter the Penniless in vain attempted to introduce some order among the promiscuous multitude; they were allured into the plain of Nice, overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows, and three hundred thousand of the first crusaders perished before a single city was rescued from the infidels, or their graver brethren had completed the preparations of their enterprise.

In the first crusade, none of the great sovereigns of Europe embarked. The emperor, Henry the Fourth, was not disposed to obey the summons of the pope, with whom he was at variance; Philip the First of France was occupied by his pleasures; William Rufus of England by a recent conquest; the kings of Spain were engaged in a domestic war against the Moors; and the northern monarchs of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, were yet strangers to the passions and interests of the south. But the religious ardour was strongly felt by the princes of
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the second order, who held an important place in the feudal system. I. Of the principal, the foremost in war and council was Godfrey of Bouillon; his father was of the noble race of the counts of Boulogne; and he himself was invested by the emperor's bounty with the ducal title of Lorraine; his valour was matured by prudence and moderation; his piety, though blind, was sincere; and in the tumult of a camp, he practised the real and fictitious virtues of a convent. He was accompanied by his two brothers, Eustace the elder, who had succeeded to the county of Boulogne, and Baldwin, a character of more ambiguous virtue. The nobles of France, Germany, and Lorraine, marched under the banner of Godfrey, and their confederate force was composed of fourscore thousand foot, and about ten thousand horse. II. The French, the Normans, and the pilgrims of the British isles followed the standard of Hugh count of Vermandois, the brother of the king of France; of Robert duke of Normandy, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, but who was deprived of the kingdom of England by the activity of his brother Rufus; of Robert count of Flanders, surnamed the sword and lance of the Christians; and of Stephen, count of Chartres, of Blois, and of Troyes, and one of the richest princes of his age. III. In the south of France, the command was assumed

assumed by Adhemar, bishop of Puy, a venerable prelate, and the pope's legate, and Raymond count of St. Giles and Thoulouse, a veteran warrior, who added the prouder titles of duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence; yet the eminent qualities of this chief were clouded by a temper, haughty, envious, and obstinate, and it was easier for him to extort the praise of the infidels, than to preserve the love of his associates. IV. Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, was already famous by his double victory over the Greek emperor. His father's will reduced him to the principality of Tarentum; and of all the leaders he alone was actuated by the motives of sound policy. Several princes of the Norman race accompanied this veteran general; and his cousin Tancred was conspicuous for all the virtues and accomplishments which formed a perfect knight.

The ceremony of knighthood was in its origin simple and profane, and some traces of it may be found in Tacitus, and the woods of Germany. The candidate, after a previous trial, was invested with his sword and spurs; and his cheek or shoulder were touched with a slight blow, as an emblem of the last affront, which it was lawful for him to endure; in the holy wars the order of chivalry was assimilated in its rights and privileges to the sacred orders of priesthood

priesthood. The sword of the novice was offered on the altar, and blessed by the ministers of religion; and he was created a knight in the name of God, of St. George, and of St. Michael the archangel. As the champion of God and the ladies, he devoted himself to speak the truth, to protect the distressed, to practise courtesy, to pursue the infidels; and to vindicate in every perilous adventure the honour of his character. The lance was the proper and peculiar weapon of the knight; his horse was of a large and heavy breed; his armour was less ponderous than in later times; and his breast was defended by a coat of mail. When their long lances were fixed in the rest, the warriors furiously spurred their horses against the foe; and the light cavalry of the Turks and Arabs could seldom stand against the direct and impetuous weight of their charge. Each knight was attended to the field by his faithful squire, a youth of equal birth and similar hopes; he was followed by his archers and men at arms, and four, or five, or six soldiers, were computed as the furniture of a complete *lance*.

The difficulty of procuring subsistence for the myriads of men and horses, engaged the princes to separate their forces, and to appoint the neighbourhood of Constantinople as their place of rendezvous. Within nine months from the feast of the assumption, the day appointed by Urban, all

the Latin princes had reached that
A. D. 1097. city; but the count of Vermandois
was produced as a captive; his foremost vessels
were scattered by a tempest; and his person,
against the law of nations, was detained by the
lieutenants of Alexius.

The emperor, who had solicited a moderate
succour, beheld with astonishment the approach
of so many potent chiefs and fanatic nations. He
was equally alarmed by his knowledge of the
ambitious Bohemond, and his ignorance of the
Transalpine princes. They might be tempted by
the luxury and wealth of Greece, and Jerusalem
might be forgotten in the prospect of Constanti-
nople. An incurable jealousy prevailed in the
minds of the strangers and the natives, who re-
garded each other as Barbarians and slaves;
Alexius is accused of a design to starve or assault
the Latins in a dangerous post, on all sides en-
compassed with the waters. Godfrey sounded
his trumpets, overspread the plain, and assaulted
the suburbs: after a doubtful conflict, both par-
ties listened to the voice of reason and religion.
The gifts and promises of the emperor insensibly
soothed the fierce spirit of the western warriors;
and they were persuaded to pass the Bosphorus
and occupy a pleasant and plentiful camp in
Asia.

But it was a work of greater skill and labour
to

to reconcile the French princes to the oath of homage and fidelity; and to extort a promise that they would either restore or hold their Asiatic conquests as the humble and loyal vassals of the Roman empire; their independent spirit was fired at the mention of this foreign and voluntary servitude; and they yielded with reluctance to the dexterous application of gifts and flattery. The best and most ostensible reason for this submission, was the impossibility of accomplishing their vow without the licence and the vessels of Alexius; but they cherished a secret hope, that as soon as they trod the continent of Asia, their swords would obliterate their shame, and dissolve the engagement, which on his side might not be very faithfully performed. The ceremony of their homage was grateful to a people who had long since considered pride as the substitute of power; high on his throne the emperor sat mute and immoveable, while his majesty was adored by the Latin princes; an indignity which their own writers are ashamed to confess, and unable to deny.

If we credit the account of a chaplain of count Baldwin, the pilgrims able to bear arms amounted to six hundred thousand; but from more authentic materials we can assert, that the cavalry of the crusaders, when the knights and their martial attendants on horseback were mustered in

the plains of Bithynia, consisted of one hundred thousand fighting men completely armed. From their first station in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, they advanced in successive divisions, and commenced their pious warfare against the sultan by the siege of his capital. Soliman, the son of the first conqueror of that name, intercepted by his kingdom of Roum, which extended from the Hellespont to the confines of Syria, the pilgrimage of Jerusalem; and in defence of a land which the Turks considered as their own, he deserved the praise of his enemies, by whom alone he is known to posterity. Twice he assaulted from the neighbouring mountains the camp of the besiegers; but Nice was pressed by land and water; a Greek

A. D. 1097. emissary persuaded the inhabitants to
 June 20. accept his master's protection; and the imperial banner streaming from the citadel preserved to Alexius, amidst the murmurs of his allies, this important conquest.

The victorious confederates directed their march towards Phrygia; and Soliman, more provoked than dismayed by the loss of his capital, with the united force of the Turkman hords at-

A. D. 1097. attacked, or rather surprised, the
 July 4. Christian army near Dorylæum. The crusaders were at first oppressed by the clouds of arrows, the heat of the weather, and the barbarous onset; but the persevering valour of Godfrey

frey restored the battle, and the light troops of Soliman, after an obstinate conflict, were forced to yield to the superior strength of their antagonists. The sultan with the relics of his army evacuated Roum, and hastened to implore the aid of his eastern friends; the crusaders pursued their triumphant march through the lesser Asia; climbed with toil and danger the steep and slippery sides of mount Taurus; and Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, with a select detachment, advanced to the gates of Syria, accepted the invitation of a Greek tyrant, became his son-in-law, inflamed the people of A. D. 1097. Edeffa to the massacre of his father and their sovereign, and established in that city the first principality of the Franks and Latins, which subsisted fifty-four years, beyond the Euphrates.

The siege of Antioch was formed A. D. 1097. by the ardour of the Christians, whose Oct. 21. zeal defied the inclemency of the approaching winter. For seven months the lofty walls and intrepid garrison baffled the vain efforts of the besiegers. Famine, desertion, and fatigue, pervaded their camp, and Antioch might have mocked the rash enterprise of the daring Franks, had not the ambitious Bohemond employed the arms of cunning and deceit. His correspondence with a Syrian renegado introduced A. D. 1098 the Norman princes: and the service June 3.

of the son of Guiscard was rewarded with the sovereignty of the city. But the citadel yet held out; the victors themselves were encompassed and besieged by the host of Kerboga, prince of Mosul; and the proud lieutenant of the caliph and the sultan, left them only the choice of servitude or death. The Franks had consumed with thoughtless prodigality their scanty stores; their numbers were thinned by want and disease; the count of Vermandois had already returned to France; the emperor Alexius, who seemed to advance to their relief, was dismayed by the assurance of their hopeless condition; and the remnant of the crusaders spent twenty-five days on the verge of destruction.

For their salvation and victory, they were indebted to the same enthusiasm which had led them to the brink of ruin; and the confidence of the desponding soldiers was revived by the seasonable discovery of the HOLY LANCE. A priest, named Peter Bartholemy, asserted, that St. Andrew, in a vision, had revealed to him that the steel head of the lance which had pierced our Saviour's side, was concealed near the high altar in the church of St. Peter; and that the apostle added, "bear it aloft in battle, and the mystic
" weapon shall penetrate the souls of the mis-
" creants." The revelation was eagerly accepted by count Raymond, who was named by the priest

as the guardian of this holy weapon ; the ground was opened in the appointed place ; Bartholemy descended into the pit, and produced the head of a Saracen lance. The first gleam of the steel was received with a devout rapture ; and the troops were again inflamed with the enthusiasm of valour. Whatever might be the sentiments of the chiefs, they skilfully improved the decisive opportunity. The gates were A. D. 1098.
thrown open ; they sallied from the June 28.
town, and dispersed, on that memorable day, the host of Turks and Arabians, which they might safely report to have consisted of six hundred thousand men.

The fortune of the Franks had delayed their invasion till the decline of the Turkish empire. The inheritance of Malek Shah was disputed by his four sons ; and the Turkish veterans were consumed in the civil wars beyond the Tigris. The caliph of Egypt had recovered from the children of Ortok, Jerusalem and Tyre, and restored in Palestine the authority of the Fatimites. He heard with astonishment the victories of the Christians ; and offered the pilgrims, if they would lay aside their arms, a hospitable reception at the sepulchre of Jesus. The proposals of Mostali were rejected by the intrepid crusaders ; yet disease had reduced the Latins to forty thousand, of whom no more than fifteen hun-

dred horse, and twenty thousand foot, were capable of service. These continued their march between Mount Libanus and the sea shore; advanced from Cæsarea into the midland country; and as soon as they descried the holy city, forgot their toils, and claimed their reward.

Jerusalem had derived some reputation from the number and importance of her memorable

A. D. 1099. sieges; but her former bulwarks had

June 7.

been diminished, and were imperfectly restored; and the valour of the crusaders was not damped by a garrison of forty thousand Moslems. After having patiently sustained the pressure of hunger and thirst, the Christians were at length triumphant; on a Friday, at three in the afternoon, Godfrey of Bouillon stood victorious on the walls of Jerusalem. His example

A. D. 1099. was followed on every side by the

July 15.

emulation of his companions; and about four hundred and sixty years after the conquest of Omar, the holy city was rescued from the Mahometan yoke. The garrison and inhabitants were for three days abandoned to a promiscuous massacre, and the Christians were fatigued, rather than satiated, by the slaughter of seventy thousand Moslems.

After the victors had accomplished their vow, and bedewed with tears of joy and penitence the monument of their redemption, they proceeded

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to the election of a king, to guard and govern their conquests in Palestine. Hugh count of Vermandois, and Stephen of Chartres, had retired with some loss of reputation, which they strove to regain by a second crusade and an honourable death; Baldwin was established at Edeffa, and Bohemond at Antioch; and the duke of Normandy and count of Flanders preferred their inheritance in the west to a doubtful sceptre in the East. The jealousy of Raymond was condemned by his own followers, and the free voice of the army proclaimed Godfrey the most worthy of the champions of Christendom. His magnanimity accepted a trust as full of danger as it was of glory; but the devout pilgrim refused the name and ensigns of royalty, and contented himself with the modest title of defender and baron of the holy sepulchre. In the first fortnight his government was interrupted by a summons to the field; and the overthrow A. D. 1099.
of the sultan of Egypt, in the battle Aug. 12.
of Ascalon, sealed the establishment of the Latins in Syria, and signalized the valour of the French princes, who in this action bade a long farewell to holy wars. Godfrey embraced his departing companions, and could only retain with the gallant Tancred, three hundred knights, and two thousand foot soldiers, for the defence of Palestine. A new enemy soon attacked his sovereignty;

ty; Adhemar, bishop of Puy, was no more; and Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, arrived in the holy land, and was installed the spiritual and temporal head of the church. Godfrey was unequal to a contest with spiritual arms; and the archbishop's claim of dominion was compromised by the cession to the church of a quarter in Jerusalem and in Jaffa, with the reversion of the rest on the death of Godfrey without children, or on the future acquisition of a new seat at Cairo or Damascus.

The arms of the kings of Jerusalem successively extended their territories till they might rival in compass those of the ancient princes of Judah and Israel. In the reduction of the maritime cities of Laodicea, Tripoli, Tyre, and Ascalon, the fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, rendered effectual service; and the range of sea coast, from Scanderoon to the borders of Egypt, was possessed by the Christian pilgrims. The prince of Antioch asserted his independency; but the counts of Edessa and Tripoli acknowledged themselves the vassals of the king of Jerusalem; the four cities of Hems, Hamah, Damascus, and Aleppo, were the only relics of the Mahometan conquests in Syria; and the laws and language, the manners and titles, of the French nation and the Latin church, were introduced into these trans-marine colonies. Yet the kingdom was continually exposed to the attacks of
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the surrounding Turks and Saracens, and the national militia amounted but to eleven thousand men to resist the enterprises of so many myriads of Moslems. But the holy land principally confided in the valour of the knights of the hospital of St. John, and of the temple of Solomon. These united the different duties of a military and monastic life, and while they devoted themselves to the celibacy of the cloister, were ready to encounter the dangers, and partake the hardships, of the field. The donation of twenty-eight thousand farms or manors enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry; and the institution still maintains its pristine reputation for courage, and possessed of the rock of Malta, defies the united force and repeated efforts of that power which has triumphed over Constantinople.

CHAPTER XLIII.

PRESERVATION OF THE GREEK EMPIRE—SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES—REIGN OF SALADIN IN EGYPT AND SYRIA—HIS CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM—RICHARD THE FIRST OF ENGLAND—FOURTH AND FIFTH CRUSADES—THE EMPEROR FREDERIC THE SECOND—LOUIS THE NINTH OF FRANCE; AND THE TWO LAST CRUSADES—EXPULSION OF THE LATINS OR FRANKS, BY THE MAMALUKES.

THE policy of the emperor Alexius Comnenus enabled him to reap the harvest which the valour of the crusaders had sown. His vigilance and dexterity early secured Nice; and the Turks, menaced by that important station, evacuated the neighbourhood of Constantinople; to oppose the confederate princes, Soliman had drained his garrisons on the sea-coast; and the imperial banner was soon displayed from the isles of Rhodes and Chios; the cities of Ephesus and Smyrna, of

of Sardes, Philadelphia, and Laodicea; and from the Hellespont to the banks of the Mæander, and the rocky shores of Pamphylia, the authority of the emperor was once more restored. The murmurs of the Latins loudly accused the conduct and sincerity of Comnenus; they had sworn fidelity and obedience to his throne; he had engaged to assist their enterprise with his troops and treasures; but his base desertion of them dissolved the obligation; and his arms were employed in reviving or establishing his claims over Syria and Cilicia. Bohemond, prince of Antioch, had been surprised and captured; his ransom oppressed him with a heavy debt, and his Norman followers were insufficient to repel the separate attacks of the Greeks and Turks. He determined to relinquish the defence of Antioch to his faithful kinsman Tancred; and boldly resumed the former designs of his father Guiscard, of arming the West against the Byzantine empire. He privately embarked, and crossed the hostile sea with secrecy and success. In France he was received with approbation and applause; and his dignity was advanced by his marriage with the king's daughter. The bravest warriors of the age enlisted under his command. At the head of five thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, he repassed the Adriatic, and laid siege to Durazzo; but the strength of that city, the precautions

cautions of Alexius, the pressure of famine, and the inclemency of the season, discouraged his confederates, and disappointed his ambitious hopes. A treaty of peace was negotiated; and the death of Bohemond delivered the Greeks from an adversary, daring, indefatigable, and faithless. His sons succeeded to the principality of Antioch, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Byzantine emperors, who possessed of the coast of Anatolia, the entire circuit from Trebizond to the Syrian gates. The power of the sultans was shaken by successive victories; they retired to Iconium, an obscure and inland town above three hundred miles from Constantinople; the princes of the Comnenian line improved their hours of advantage; and the first crusade deferred the fall of the declining empire.

In the twelfth century, three great and separate expeditions were undertaken for the relief of the holy land. I. The soldiers and pilgrims of Lombardy, France, and Germany, who were calculated at four hundred thousand, and who marched under the banners of the dukes of Burgundy, Bavaria, and Aquitaine; the majority of these was destroyed in A. D. 1107. Anatolia by famine, pestilence, and the Turkish arrows; and the princes only escaped with some squadrons of horse to accomplish their lamentable pilgrimage. II. The second crusade was under-

undertaken by the emperor of Germany and the French king, Conrad the Third, and Louis the Seventh. The nobles were animated by the presence of their sovereigns; seventy thousand knights, with their immediate attendants, swelled the cavalry to four hundred thousand; and if to these are added the infantry and the monks, the women and the children, the aggregate number must exceed belief, and will almost defy computation; yet this force, which threatened the extinction of the Moslems, served only to expose the incessant misfortunes of an holy war. The Germans were urged by emulation, the French were retarded by jealousy; and Louis scarce had passed the Bosphorus, when he met the vanquished emperor returning, with the remnant of his army, from a glorious, but unsuccessful action, on the banks of the Mæander. The fate of the French monarch was almost similar. He was surprised and surrounded by the Turks, as he pursued his march with inconsiderate rashness. With difficulty Louis escaped from the fatal arrows of his enemies; and after sheltering the relics of his host in the friendly port of Satalia, he embarked for Antioch; and with Conrad joined the Christian powers of Syria in the fruitless siege of Damascus. Baffled in this final effort, the two monarchs were content to embark

embark for Europe, and their sole acquisition was the personal fame of piety and courage.

III. The grand division of the third crusade was led by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa; the French and English, who embarked in this expedition, preferred the navigation of the Mediterranean; yet Frederic mustered in the plains of Hungary fifteen thousand knights and as many squires; and sixty thousand
A.D. 1189. horse were followed by one hundred thousand foot. The veteran genius of the chief imparted confidence to his companions and soldiers; and the Turks were awed by the fame of a prince, who had distinguished himself in forty campaigns: yet famine and disease pursued the fainting steps of the Christians through the barren and inhospitable Desert; and when they reached the gates of Iconium, no more than one thousand knights were able to serve on horseback. By a resolute assault they stormed the capital of the sultan, who sued in vain for pardon and peace; but as the victorious emperor advanced into Cilicia, he was unfortunately drowned in the petty stream of Calycadnus. The remainder of his Germans was consumed by sickness and desertion; and the emperor's son, with the greatest part of his Swabian vassals, expired at the siege of Acre.

That successive generations should thus have
rushed

rushed headlong down the precipice before them, may excite our pity and admiration; but it was with terror and hatred that the effeminate Greeks beheld the numbers and characters of the strangers. The apprehension of the Turkish power, for some time, suspended their aversion; but when the sultan was driven to the distant retreat of Iconium, the Byzantine princes more freely expressed their indignation at the frequent passage of the western Barbarians, who violated the majesty, and endangered the safety, of the empire. Manuel Comnenus, whose passions were impetuous, and often malevolent, and Isaac Angelus, whose temper was naturally timid, and deliberately mischievous, successively conspired to destroy, or at least to discourage, the pilgrims, by every species of injury and oppression. The gates of the cities, both in Europe and Asia, were closely barred against the crusaders; and the scanty pittance of food was let down in baskets from the walls; the passes were fortified, and the bridges broke down against them; the stragglers were pillaged and murdered; the sick were burnt in their beds; and the dead bodies were hung on gibbets along the highways. These injuries exasperated the champions of the cross; and they were still further provoked by the pride of the Byzantine court, and the arrogant claims of pre-eminence. The seat of Lewis had been a

low stool beside the throne of the emperor Manuel; but as soon as the French king had transported his army beyond the Bosphorus, he declined any conference with the successor of Constantine, but on equal terms. Conrad and Frederic claimed, equally with the Greek, the title of emperor; the first would only converse with Manuel in the open field on horseback; the last, by passing the Hellespont, avoided both the city and sovereign of Constantinople. While the Greek emperors regarded with hatred and suspicion the Latin pilgrims, they maintained a strict, though secret, alliance with the Turks and Saracens. In the reign of Isaac Angelus, a mosch was founded at Constantinople; and in less than three centuries, from the first toleration of it, the religion of Mahomet was established in the city of Constantine by the triumphant sword of the Moslems.

The Syrian fugitives had diffused their consternation and sorrow for the loss of Jerusalem, throughout the remaining provinces of the faithful; but the caliphs could only lament over their waning empire; and the humble ambition of the Abbassides was confined in their last age to Bagdad and the adjacent provinces; their masters, the Seljukian sultans felt, and displayed, the rapid progress of decay; and the influence of Mahomet, and the doctrines of the koran, were espoused

espoused and defended by their slaves the Atabeks. In the civil wars, which ensued on the death of Malek Shah, Alcanfar, a valiant Turk, and his favourite, had lost his head and the government of Aleppo. His domestic emirs persevered in their attachment to his son Zenghi, who first displayed his valour at Antioch, and attained a military fame that promoted him to the command of Mosul. The favourable opinion entertained of his abilities was justified by his success. He stormed the city of Edeffa, recovered from the Franks their conquests beyond the Euphrates, and A.D. 1127. subdued the martial tribes of Cur- 1145. distan; his soldiers were taught to behold the camp as their only country; they confided in his liberality for their rewards, and trusted their absent families to his protection. His son Noured-din gradually united the Mahometan powers; added the kingdom of Damascus to that of Aleppo; obtained from the Abbassides A.D. 1145. the titles and prerogatives of royalty; 1174. and spread his ample reign from the Tigris to the Nile. The Christians themselves acknowledge him wise, brave, just, and pious; frugal in his own household, and scrupulous in the administration of the public revenue. His favourite sultana sighed for some female object of expence. "Alas," replied Noured-din, "I fear God, and am no more than the treasurer of

“ the Moslems. Their property I cannot alienate ; but I still possess three shops in the city of Hems ; these you may take ; and these alone can I bestow.” Some years after the sultan’s death, an oppressed subject exclaimed in the streets of Damascus, “ O Noureddin, Noureddin, where art thou now ? Arise, arise, to pity and protect us !”

The Fatimites had been deprived of Syria by the arms of the Turks ; in Egypt they were oppressed and enslaved by their own ministers ; the dissensions of these invited the opposite invasions of Amauriy, the king of Jerusalem, and of Noureddin, the sovereign of Damascus. Amauriy was compelled to retreat before Shiracouh, the lieutenant of his successful competitor ; the victorious Noureddin restored the holy names of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman ; and asserted the authority of the caliph Mosthadi, of Bagdad ; the seasonable death of the caliph Adhed extinguished the race of the Fatimites ; the Abbassides were generally acknowledged ; and in every revolution Egypt has since adhered to the orthodox tradition of the Moslems.

The hilly country beyond the Tigris is occupied by the pastoral tribes of the Curds, whose name, situation, and manners, seem to mark them as the Carduchians of the Greeks ; and they still defend

defend, against the Ottoman Porte, the freedom which they maintained against the successors of Cyrus. Saladin was a native of this country, and the son of Ayoub. He was constrained by Noureddin to follow into Egypt his uncle Shiracouh, and displayed his valour in the defence of Alexandria. On the death of Shiracouh he obtained the office of grand vizir, and his genius was formed by the artful lessons of his father, the politic Ayoub. He attached the army to his person and interest; obtained an ascendant over his equals; and when Noureddin expired, supplanted the son of that prince, then only eleven years of age, and prevailed on the caliph of Bagdad to sanction, by his authority, his usurpation of Egypt. The ambition of Saladin soon extended beyond the limits of his new kingdom. Syria and Arabia acknowledged his power, and claimed his protection; Jerusalem was subdued by his arms; and before his death, his empire was spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia. The frequent revolutions of Asia may in some measure excuse the steps by which he first ascended his throne; and his reverence to the son of Noureddin attests his humanity and generosity. Chaste, sober, and religious, he was abstemious in his diet, and modest in his apparel; accessible to his subjects,

A. D. 1174.

affable to his servants, and liberal to his dependants. Even his Christian enemies revered the virtues of the *great* Saladin; his fame was diffused throughout the East and West; the Greek emperor solicited his alliance, and the emperor of Germany gloried in his friendship.

Baldwin the Fourth, the son of Amauriy, was the legitimate successor to the throne of Jerusalem; but that prince was unfortunately deprived, by a leprosy, of the faculties both of mind and body. His sister Sybilla, the mother of Baldwin the Fifth, was his natural heiress; after the suspicious death of her child, she crowned her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, a prince of a handsome person, but of such base renown, that his own own brother, Jeffrey, was heard to exclaim, "Since they have made *him* a king, surely "they would have made *me* a God!" Raymond, count of Tripoli, the most powerful vassal, was peculiarly exasperated by the unworthy preference; his resentment induced him to sacrifice his honour, and to listen to the temptations of the sultan. The waning state was pressed by the surrounding dominions of Saladin; and the avarice of the Franks induced them to violate the treaty, which alone was their protection. Reginald, of Chatillon, from a fortress on the edge of the Desert, pillaged the caravans, and provoked the complaints of Saladin. The
remon-

remonstrances of the sultan were disregarded, and at the head of fourscore thousand horse and foot, he formed the siege of Tiberias. Lusignan drained his garrisons, and advanced to the relief of that important place; he was betrayed into a camp destitute of water, by the treachery A. D. 1187. of Raymond, who fled at the first July 3. onset; thirty thousand of the Christians were slaughtered; and Lusignan was conducted a captive into the tent of Saladin. The thirst of the vanquished monarch was relieved by a cup of sherbet; but this pledge of hospitality and pardon was denied to Chatillon. "The person of a king," said the sultan, "is sacred; but this impious robber must instantly acknowledge the prophet, whom he has blasphemed, or meet the death which he has so often deserved." On the refusal of the Christian warrior, Saladin struck him on the head with his scymetar, and Chatillon was dispatched by the guards. Lusignan was sent to Damascus, and soon ransomed; but the execution of two hundred and thirty knights of the hospital, stained the victory of Saladin, who appeared, within three months after the battle of Tiberias, at the gates of Jerusalem.

The Greek and Oriental Christians composed the most numerous portion of the inhabitants of the holy city; these preferred the Mahometan to the Latin yoke. The barons and knights were

divided into factions ; and queen Sybilla trembled for her own, and her husband's, safety. In the space of fourteen days, a breach was made of fifteen cubits, and on the breach were planted twelve standards of the sultan and the prophet. The suppliant cries of the besieged implored the mercy of the conqueror ; “ he had sworn to
“ avenge the patience and long-suffering of the
“ Moslems ; the hour of forgiveness was elapsed,
“ and the moment was now arrived to expiate in
“ blood, the innocent blood which had been
“ spilt by Godfrey, and the first crusaders :” but what he had denied to their intreaties, he granted to their despair ; and he was admonished, by a successful struggle of the Franks, that his conquest was not yet certain. He consented to accept the city, and spare the inhabitants ; the Franks and Latins were to evacuate Jerusalem, and to be safely conducted to the sea-ports of Syria and Egypt. A certain ransom was to be paid for every person ; but the Greek and Oriental Christians were permitted to live under his government.

The victorious career of Soliman was checked by the resistance of Tyre ; the different garrisons and troops which had capitulated, were all conducted to that port ; and the arrival of Conrad, of Montferrat, gave order and union to the promiscuous crowd. The siege of Tyre was already
commenced,

commenced, when that chief was hailed by the inhabitants as their prince and champion. His father was a prisoner in the hands of Saladin; in vain did the sultan assail Conrad with his arms; in vain did he menace him with the instant death of his aged parent; his valour repelled the attacks of the Moslems; and the firmness of his zeal withstood the suggestions of filial affection. After the loss of five of his gallies, and the bravest of his soldiers, the great Saladin destroyed his engines, and retreated to Damascus.

But the distress and danger of the holy land had once more roused the pity and martial enthusiasm of Europe. The emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, and the kings of France and England assumed the cross. The armaments of these were preceded by a host of adventurers from Genoa, Pisa, and Venice; from Flanders, Frise, and Denmark; from Normandy and the western isles. Their increasing numbers burst from the walls of Tyre; and formed, by the advice of Lusignan, who was now released from prison, the siege of Ptolemais, or Acre, thirty miles to the south of Tyre. Near A.D. 1189. two years was this memorable siege continued; in nine actions Saladin endeavoured the relief of his faithful brethren; the camp of the besieger was thinned by famine, the sword, and the climate, and despondency began to prevail, when
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in the spring of the second year, the royal fleets of France and England, for Barbarossa was no more, cast anchor in the bay of Acre. The youthful emulation of the two kings, Philip and Richard, surmounted every obstacle; the defenders of Acre submitted to their fate; some doubts or delay in the capitulation, A. D. 1191. rekindled the fury of the Franks; and three thousand Moslems, almost in the sultan's view, were beheaded by the command of Richard. In the siege of Acre, one hundred thousand Christians had fallen; a greater number had perished by disease; and the Latins dearly purchased the possession of a strong town and a convenient harbour.

The surrender of Acre was immediately followed by the departure of Philip king of France, who left the duke of Burgundy with five hundred knights, and ten thousand foot, for the service of the holy land; but the zeal of Richard of England, surnamed Cœur de Lion, was more lively and more permanent. His valour was attested by the proverbial sayings of the grandsons of the Turks and Saracens, against whom he fought; his tremendous name was employed by the Syrian mothers to silence their infants; and if a horse suddenly started from his way, his rider was wont to exclaim, "Dost thou think king Richard is in that bush!" From Acre the martial

martial Richard led the crusaders to the recovery of the sea coast; the cities of Cæsarea and Jaffa were subdued; a march of one hundred miles, from Acre to Ascalon, was a perpetual battle of eleven days; and the walls of the last place were destroyed by Saladin, to prevent the Christians from occupying an important fortress on the confines of Egypt.

In the ensuing spring, the Franks advanced within a day's march, and threatened the security, of Jerusalem; but the apprehensions of the Moslems were dispelled, and the laurels of Richard blasted, by the unexpected retreat of the Christians. The prudence or envy of his companions compelled the reluctant monarch to retire; ascending a hill, the hero veiled his face, and exclaimed with an indignant voice, "Those who are unwilling to rescue, are unworthy to view, the sepulchre of Christ." He had scarce returned to Acre before he was informed that Jaffa was surprised by Saladin; he sailed in some merchant vessels, landed first on the beach, and by his presence relieved the castle, and routed sixty thousand Turks and Saracens.

A tedious negociation between Richard and Saladin, which during their hostilities had been often broken off, and as often resumed, was at length cemented into a truce. Jerusalem and the holy

holy sepulchre were left open, without tribute or vexation, to the pilgrimage of the Latin Christians; they were established in the possession of the sea coast from Jaffa to Tyre; the count of Tripoli, and the prince of Antioch, was comprised in the truce, which was limited to three years and three months. Richard immediately

A. D. 1193. embarked for Europe; and Saladin
 March 4. in a few months sunk into the grave.

The division of his empire, and the contentions between the sultans of Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo, weakened the power of the Moslems, and afforded to the Franks and Latins a transient repose in their fortresses along the Syrian coast.

By the influence of Pope Innocent the Third, two crusades, the fourth and fifth, were undertaken after the death of Saladin. The fourth

A. D. 1203. was diverted from Syria to Constantinople, and will soon be the object of our consideration; the fifth was directed against

A. D. 1218. Egypt, the great source of the wealth and power of the sultan; after a siege of sixteen months, Damietta was taken; but the insolence of the legate Palagius ruined the Christian army, and a safe retreat was ingloriously purchased by the restitution of Damietta. About

A. D. 1228. ten years afterwards, Frederic the Second, the grandson of Barbarossa, assumed the cross, and entered Jerusalem in triumph,

umph. Whilst he vanquished in the name of Christ, he was recalled by an interdict of the church; yet the esteem of the Mahometans for the abilities of Frederic may be presumed by an advantageous treaty, which restored to the Latins Jerusalem, Bethlem, Nazareth, Tyre, and Sidon; fifteen years had scarce allowed the holy city to regain some appearances of her former posterity, when the savage hords of the Carizmians, flying from the arms of the Moguls, rolled headlong on Syria. Jerusalem was pillaged, the holy sepulchre was profaned, and the ravages of the Turks and Saracens were forgotten in the undistinguishing cruelty of these more ferocious invaders. A. D. 1243.

A sixth and seventh crusade were undertaken by Louis the Ninth, king of France. In the sixth, with nine thousand five hundred horse, and one hundred and thirty thousand foot, he landed near Damietta, which was abandoned on the first assault by the trembling Moslems; but with that city his fond hopes of conquest were bounded. A ruinous delay introduced into the camp an epidemical disease, and with languid steps the Franks advanced towards the capital of Egypt. The inconsiderate valour of the count of Artois precipitated his own destruction, and that of the vanguard. Louis, hopeless of retreat, and destitute of provisions, was compelled

A. D. 1250. pelled to surrender with the greatest part of his nobles; and his liberty was purchased by again restoring Damietta, and by the payment of four hundred thousand pieces of gold. The sense of former misfortunes was effaced by a repose of sixteen years, and Louis

A. D. 1270. once more assumed the cross, and embarked for Africa with the wild hope of baptising the king of Tunis; but as he pressed the siege of the city, he was attacked by a burning fever, and expired in his tent, and his son and successor, impatient to possess the vacant throne, repassed the sea to Europe.

A. D. 1250. During these expeditions a new revolution took place in Egypt, and the Mamalukes, the hardy natives of Tartary, who were purchased at a tender age, and educated in the camp and palace of the sultan, murdered their master Touran Shah, the last of the race of Saladin, and extended their sway from Egypt over Nubia, Arabia, and Syria. The Latin principality of Antioch was extinguished; the maritime towns of Laodicea, Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, and Jaffa, successively fell. The Franks were confined to the city of Acre; and about forty years from the first establishment of the Mamalukes, that city was invested by the sultan Khalil, with sixty thousand horse, and one hundred and forty thousand foot. The courage of
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the Franks was rekindled by despair, and for thirty-three days they maintained the incessant attacks of the Moslems; but the walls were forced on every side; sixty thousand Christians were devoted to death or slavery; and a scanty remnant, with the king of Jerusalem, the patriarch, and the great master of the hospital, effected their retreat to the sea shore, and escaped with difficulty to Cyprus.

CHAPTER XLIV.

SCHISM OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS—STATE OF
CONSTANTINOPLE—REVOLT OF THE BULGARIANS
—ISAAC ANGELUS DETHRONED BY HIS BRO-
THER ALEXIUS—ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH
CRUSADE—ALLIANCE OF THE FRENCH
AND VENETIANS WITH THE SON OF
ISAAC—THE TWO SIEGES AND FINAL
CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY
THE LATINS.

THE mutual jealousies which had early prevailed among the Greeks and Latins, were derived from the superior claim of learning in the former ; and the martial and independent spirit of the latter. Religious controversy inflamed their animosity ; and while the Greeks asserted that the Holy Ghost *proceeded* from the Father alone, perhaps *by* the Son, the Latins maintained that he proceeded from the Father and Son. A character of neutrality had been affected by the
Roman

Roman pontiffs in the origin of the dispute; they seemed desirous of deterring their followers from the superfluous research; but the orthodoxy of Rome at length obeyed the impulse of her temporal policy, and the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as well as from the Father, was finally established.

The emulation of the leading prelates still further tended to separate the old metropolis from the new. Photius, an ambitious layman, the captain of the guards, was promoted to the office of patriarch of Constantinople; his abdicated predecessor, Ignatius, impeached the regularity of his ordination and rise, and appealed to Nicholas the First, the most aspiring of the Roman pontiffs. The Greek prelate, with the aid of his court, was victorious; and in his turn deposed the successor of St. Peter, and involved the Latin church in the reproach of heresy and schism. Ignatius was restored by Basil the Macedonian, and again deposed by his successor. The intercourse of the two nations was suspended, and their minds were rendered irreconcilable. At length the majesty of
 A. D. 1054.
 Rome was awakened by Michael Ca- July 16.
 rularius, a rebel patriarch, who was excommunicated in the heart of Constantinople. The anathema of the pope was deposited by his legates on the altar of St. Sophia; it includes the

guilty teachers and their unhappy sectaries. A friendly correspondence was afterwards occasionally renewed; but the Greeks have never recanted their errors; the popes have never repealed their sentence; and from that day may be dated the perpetual schism of the two nations.

In the three first expeditions to the holy land, the Greeks observed or pursued the Latins with jealous caution, or malignant aversion; the pride of the Greek emperor was wounded by the intrusion of foreign and formidable armies, who claimed the right of traversing his dominions, insulted his capital, and plundered his subjects. Religious zeal inflamed those profane causes of national enmity. Schismatic and heretic were the names applied by the Christians of the East to their brethren of the West; and the Greek clergy, in the crusade of Louis the Seventh, washed and purified the altars which had been defiled by the sacrifice of a French priest. Manuel Comnenus had married two wives descended from the Franks; in his claims on the empire of the West, he had encountered the arms of that people, and respected their valour. His policy induced him to solicit the alliance of the pope; and during his reign, and that of his son Alexius, the Franks were employed and trusted by the sovereigns, and insulted by the people, of Constantinople.

stantinople. In the tumult which raised Andronicus to the throne, these A. D. 1183. unhappy foreigners were exposed to the unrelenting cruelty of popular fury; and the most grateful sight to their persecutors was the head of a Roman cardinal, the pope's legate, fastened to the tail of a dog, and dragged through the city. The few who escaped exposed in Europe the wealth and weakness, the perfidy and malice of the Greeks. The French and Venetians, by a domestic revolution, were invited, and almost compelled, to achieve, what the first crusaders had rejected, the conquest of the Roman empire of the East.

The tyranny of Andronicus provoked his destruction, and promoted the elevation of Isaac Angelus, who was descended A. D. 1185. by the females from the Comnenian dynasty. The indolence of Isaac was almost as intolerable to his subjects as the active vices of his predecessor. His luxury swelled the annual expence of his table and household to four millions sterling; and the remains of the Greek empire daily diminished in the unworthy reigns of Isaac and his brother. The island of Cyprus had been usurped by his namesake, a Comnenian prince; by the sword of Richard of England it was transferred to the house of Lusignan; and the honour of the monarchy, and the safety of the capital,

were deeply wounded by the revolt of the Bulgarians and Walachians.

These Barbarians, since the victory of the second Basil had, with the preservation of their own laws and manners, acknowledged an honourable subjection to the Byzantine prince. The luxury of Isaac invaded their flocks and herds; and his pride refused to their warriors, in the military service, an equal rank and pay with the Greeks. The rights of the people were vindicated by Peter and Asan, two powerful chiefs of the race of the ancient kings. From the banks of the Danube to the hills of Macedonia and Thrace, the country was blasted by the flames of the invaders. Isaac Angelus and his brother acquiesced, after some faint efforts in their independence; and the second kingdom of Bulgaria was firmly established by the arms and policy of John, or Joannices; that subtle Barbarian professed himself the genuine son of Rome, and received from the pope the licence of coining money, the royal title, and a Latin patriarch.

Although the Bulgarians in general prayed for the continuance of the disgraceful reign of Isaac, yet their chiefs involved the family and nation of the emperor in the same contempt. "In all the Greeks," said Asan to his troops, "the same climate, and character, and education, will be productive of the same fruits." "Be-
hold

“hold my lance,” continued the warrior, “and
 “the long streamers that float in the wind. They
 “differ only in colour; they are formed of the
 “same silk, and fashioned by the same workman;
 “nor has the stripe that is stained with purple,
 “any superior price or value above its fellows.”

The throne of Isaac was at length subverted by
 his ungrateful brother Alexius. The late emperor was seized at Stagyra in A. D. 1195.
 Macedonia, conducted to Constantinople, deprived of his eyes, and confined in a lonesome tower; his son Alexius, in the disguise of a common sailor, escaped to an Italian vessel, passed the Hellespont, and found a secret refuge in the isle of Sicily. As he traversed Italy, to accept the kind invitation of his sister Irene, the wife of Philip of Swabia, the king of the Romans, he heard with pleasure, that the bravest spirits of the West were assembled at Venice for the deliverance of the holy land; and from their swords he implored and hoped his father's restoration.

Thibaut, count of Champagne, and Louis, count of Blois and Chartres, with a croud of prelates and barons, were persuaded by the eloquence of Fulk of Neuilly to assume A. D. 1198.
 the cross; but they regarded with terror the toils and dangers of a land expedition, in which so many royal armies had already perished, and the French barons were destitute of ships,

and ignorant of navigation. The maritime states were alone possessed of the means of transporting the holy warriors; and Jeffery of Villehardouin, with five other deputies from the confederates, proceeded to Venice to solicit the aid of that powerful republic.

The Venetians had sheltered themselves on the invasion of Attila, in the chain of islands which line the Adriatic gulf; the free and indigent A. D. 697. multitude gradually coalesced into a 1200. republic; and the first foundations of Venice were laid in the island of Rialto. Their situation repulsed the attacks of Pepin, the son of Charlemagne; and jealous of independence, the lands of the republic under the German Cæsars, have in every age been clearly distinguished from the kingdom of Italy. The claims of the Byzantine court were better founded; but they were gradually extinguished by the ambition of Venice, and the weakness of Constantinople. The industry of the people soon acquired a considerable share in the commerce of Greece and Egypt; an hundred gallies protected the flag of the new republic; and her naval arms encountered the fleets of the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans. They assisted the Franks in the reduction of the sea-coast of Syria, and their services were rewarded by a share in the sovereignty of Tyre. The primitive government of Venice

nice was a mixture of democracy and monarchy; the doge was elected by the votes of the assembly, and reigned with princely pomp and power as long as he was popular; but in the twelfth century, a new system was gradually introduced, and the doge and people were equally divested of authority by a wise and jealous aristocracy.

The representatives of the crusaders were supported in their proposals by Henry Dandolo, the reigning doge, who under the weight of years, and the loss of his eyes, retained a sound understanding and a manly spirit. The martial pilgrims were to assemble at Venice on the feast of St. John of the ensuing year; vessels were to be prepared for four thousand five hundred knights, their 'squires, and their horses, with the addition of twenty thousand foot; eighty-five thousand marks of silver were to be paid by the crusaders before their departure: and all conquests, by sea and land, were to be equally divided between the confederates. The terms were agreed to; the treaty was transcribed on parchment; accepted by the representatives of France and Venice; and dispatched to Rome for the approbation of pope Innocent the Third.

But unforeseen difficulties still occurred in the execution of the treaty. Thibaut, count of Champagne, had been unanimously chosen general of the confederates; but the health of that

valiant youth daily declined, and on his death not a prince of France could be found both able and willing to assume the conduct of the enterprise. The Franks turned their eyes on a stranger, Boniface count of Mountferrat, illustrious by his descent from a race of heroes, and conspicuous for his own valour and policy; the Italian prince accepted the honourable invitation; and the martial pilgrims assembled at Venice; but their zeal had already exceeded their strength, and thirty-four thousand marks were still wanting to complete their treaty with the Venetians. In this difficulty the doge proposed to the barons, that if they would join the arms of the republic in reducing some revolted cities of Dalmatia, he would expose his person in the holy war, and obtain from the republic an indulgence till some wealthy conquest should enable them to satisfy the debt. The crusaders consented with reluctance, and the venerable veteran

A. D. 1202. Oct. 8. assumed the cross at above ninety years of age. The first efforts of the fleet and army were directed against Zara, which had renounced the allegiance of Venice, and implored the protection of the king of Hungary; after a

A. D. 1202. Nov. 10. defence of five days, the inhabitants surrendered, their lives were spared, but their houses were pillaged, and their walls demolished. The advanced season compelled the

confe-

confederates to establish their winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Zara; but the conquest of that city disturbed their repose; the king of Hungary and his new subjects were themselves enlisted under the banners of the cross; the crusaders had plundered and massacred their brethren, and the thunders of the vatican admonished them of their guilt. The submissive penitents of France might obtain absolution, but the stubborn Venetians refused to accept their pardon, and defied the spiritual arms of Innocent.

The hopes of young Alexius were revived by the assembly of these formidable powers; his cause was strongly recommended by the marquis of Montferrat, and the doge of Venice; he promised in his own and father's name, that as soon as they were seated on the throne of Constantinople, they would submit themselves and their people to the Roman church; that he would recompense the crusaders with two hundred thousand marks of silver, and either accompany them in person to Egypt, or maintain during a year ten thousand men, and during his life, five hundred knights, for the service of the holy land. These conditions were accepted by the republic of Venice; and the eloquence of Dandolo and Boniface persuaded the counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Pol, with eight barons of France, to join in the glorious enterprise; but many pilgrims, the

the most distinguished for their valour and their piety, withdrew from the camp, and refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-christians.

The Venetians, undismayed by this defection, pressed the departure of the fleet and army; the adventurers, whose numbers might amount to forty thousand, with a favourable wind, first touched at Durazzo; a short repose in the isle of Corfu recruited their strength; and, after receiving the submission of Negropont and Andros, they pursued their voyage through the Hellespont, and cast anchor before Chalcedon. On the third day the fleet and army moved towards Scutari, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople; a detachment of five hundred Greek cavalry fled before fourscore knights, and the fatigues of their voyage were forgotten in the golden prospect of the city of Constantine.

Alexius had despised the first rumour of his nephew's alliance with the French and Venetians; he had neglected to oppose them with a fleet in the Adriatic, or to stop them in the mouth of the Hellespont. He beheld with dissembled terror their camp pitched in the sight of the palace; and his ambassadors menaced the daring adventurers with the imperial resentment, should they presume to profane the sanctuary of the empire. The answer of the doge and barons was bold and decisive.

decisive. "Let the ungrateful usurper confess his guilt, and implore forgiveness, and we ourselves will intercede, that he may be permitted to live in affluence and security; but let him not insult us by a second message; our reply will be made in arms in the palace of Constantinople."

The passage of the Bosphorus was an adventure big with peril. The stream was A. D. 1203.
broad and rapid; the current might July 6.
drive down the liquid fire of the Greeks; and the opposite shores were lined with seventy thousand horse and foot. The vanguard was led by the count of Flanders; the main body by his brother Henry, the counts of St. Pol and Blois, and Matthew Montmorency; the reserve was conducted by the marquis of Montferrat. The different divisions passed the Bosphorus, without encountering an enemy or obstacle; and scarce had the gallant knights thrown themselves on shore, before the seventy thousand Greeks vanished from their sight. The tower of Galata, in the suburb of Pera, was stormed by the French; the Venetian fleet broke the chain, and entered the port of Constantinople; and a capital, which contained above four hundred thousand inhabitants, was besieged by twenty thousand Latins.

The usual complaints of hunger and scarcity were soon heard through the camp of the besiegers;

siegers; and the trembling usurper was supported by his son-in-law, Theodore Lascaris, who awakened the Greeks, regardless of their country, to the defence of their religion. In ten days incessant labour a breach was made, but the adventurous Latins were repulsed and oppressed by superior numbers. The naval attack of the Venetians had been attended with more success; the vessel of the aged Dandolo first reached the land; and the blind old man, completely armed, was the foremost warrior on shore; the standard of the republic was already fixed on the rampart; when the doge was informed of the distress of his confederates, and recalled his troops to the support of the Latins; he found them encompassed by the squadrons of the Greeks; but the usurper was awed by the appearance of succour; he withdrew his formidable host; and, deserting his wife, his people, and his fortune, he passed the Bosphorus in the night, and landed in an obscure harbour of Thrace. The Greek nobles, as soon as they were apprised of his flight, raised Isaac from his dungeon
A. D. 1203. July 18. to the throne; and the Latins, at dawn of day, were surprised by a message from the lawful emperor, who was impatient to embrace his son, and to reward his generous deliverers.

The emperor Isaac ratified the engagements
which

which his son had made with Venice and the pilgrims; and the young Alexius, whose adventures had engaged every heart in his favour, was solemnly crowned, with his father, A. D. 1203. in the dome of St. Sophia. It was July 19. agreed by both parties, that the re-union of the two churches must be the result of patience and time; but the importunate wants of the crusaders were appeased by the disbursement of a large sum; and the suburbs of Galata and Pera were assigned for their quarters, to prevent the mischief which might arise from the mixture of two discordant nations. At the price of sixteen hundred pounds of gold the young Alexius persuaded the confederates to defer another year the deliverance of the holy land; and prevailed on the marquis of Montferrat, to lead him with an army round the provinces; while Baldwin, with the pilgrims of France and Flanders, awed by their presence the fickle inhabitants of Constantinople.

The popularity and prosperity of Alexius began even already to decline. While he was received with submission by the most distant regions of the empire, in the capital the Greeks hated him as an apostate, who had renounced the manners and religion of his country. His secret covenant with the Latins was suspected; the people were devoutly attached to their faith and superstition; and every house resounded with the danger

danger of the church, and the tyranny of the pope. The enthusiasm of the crusaders was scandalized at the toleration of a mosque, and the flames which they kindled for the destruction of that building, were the source of a conflagration, which raged for eight days in the thickest and most populous parts of the city. The conscious Latins retired from the indignation of the inhabitants to the protection of their standard at Pera. Alexius on his return hesitated between gratitude and patriotism; and by his moderate conduct he lost the favour of his allies, without acquiring the confidence of his subjects. The Latin chiefs, regardless of his situation, pressed him with their importunities; and their deputies declared, that unless their just claims were fully and immediately satisfied, they should no longer regard him as a sovereign or a friend; after this defiance they departed with safety from the imperial presence, and their return to the camp was the signal of mutual hostility.

The race of Angeli was despised in the eyes both of the Greeks and Franks; the people of Constantinople encompassed the senate to demand at their hands a more worthy emperor. The author of the tumult was a prince of the house of Ducas; and the name of Alexius was lost in the general epithet of Mourzoufle, a word which expressed the close junction of his black and shaggy

shaggy eye-brows. While he opposed the Latins, and inflamed the passions of the Greeks, he still retained the confidence of the emperor, to whose person his office of great chamberlain gave him easy access. Alexius was deluded A. D. 1204. into a dungeon by his faithless minis- Feb. 8. ter; the insults which he suffered during several days, were terminated by a cruel death, in the presence of the tyrant; Isaac Angelus soon followed his unfortunate son to the grave; and his age, perhaps, rendered it unnecessary for Mourzoufle to hasten his dissolution.

On the death of the two emperors, the French and Venetians forgot their complaints against Alexius, and swore revenge against the perfidious Mourzoufle and his adherents: yet the prudent doge was still inclined to negotiate; but the policy of Mourzoufle refused to sacrifice the Greek church to the safety of the state: yet his nocturnal sallies, and his attempts to burn the Venetian flags in the harbour, were equally unsuccessful. In three laborious months the confederates had completed their preparations for a general assault. Two days the daring crusaders were repulsed by the advantage of ground, and the superiority of numbers; on the A. D. 1204. third their valour surmounted every April. obstacle; the episcopal banners were displayed from the walls; the Greeks deserted their posts and cast away their arms; and the usurper, hopeless

less and abandoned, escaped out of the golden gate.

Constantinople had been taken by storm; and the passions of the conquerors were alone restrained by religion and humanity. Two thousand of the unresisting Greeks perished in the first moment of victory; the voice of Boniface exhorted the soldiers to spare the lives of their fellow-christians; but a free scope was allowed to their avarice, which was glutted, even in the holy week, by the pillage of Constantinople. The plunder was delivered into the common stock; a single share was allotted to a foot soldier; two for a serjeant on horseback; four to a knight; and larger proportions, according to the rank and merits of the barons and princes: though it is generally believed that the secret exceeded the acknowledged spoil, yet the magnitude of the prize surpassed experience and expectation; and after the whole had been equally divided between the French and Venetians, fifty thousand marks were deducted to satisfy the debts of the former, and the demands of the latter.

Constantine had erected the capital of his empire in the East; it was trampled upon by the valour of the West, which he had deserted; the palace of the son of Helena was pillaged by the champions of the religion which he had established.

blished. The ornaments, which had been transported from the old, to adorn the new metropolis, became the prey of the Latin victors; the pious Greeks might lament their churches profaned by the holy zeal of the orthodox conquerors, the altars broken, the pulpits overturned, and the chalices converted into drinking cups; but posterity will rather regret the works of art which were defaced, or melted down by the unfeeling avarice of the crusaders, the statues of brass, which were coined into money for the payment of the troops, and the invaluable libraries which were consumed by the negligence or contempt of the unlettered pilgrims. In the insolence of conquest, a conflagration was kindled, which consumed, in a few hours, the measure of three of the largest cities of France; and many of the writings of antiquity, which had existed to the twelfth century, from that period have been secluded from our researches.

CHAPTER XLV.

**PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE BY THE FRENCH AND
VENETIANS—FIVE LATIN EMPERORS OF THE
HOUSES OF FLANDERS AND COURTENAY—THEIR
WARS AGAINST THE BULGARIANS AND GREEKS
—RECOVERY OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE
GREEKS—ELEVATION AND REIGN OF MI-
CHAEL PALÆOLOGUS—REVOLT OF
SICILY.**

THE French and Venetians agreed to divide the possessions they had acquired by arms ; twelve electors, six of each nation, were named to chuse the future emperor of the East ; to him the titles and prerogatives of the Byzantine throne, with one fourth of the Greek monarchy, were assigned ; and it was determined equally to share the three remaining portions between the republic of Venice and the barons of France ; that each feudatory,

datory, with an honourable exception for the doge, should acknowledge and perform the duties of homage and military service to the supreme head of the empire; that the nation, which gave an emperor, should resign to their brethren the choice of a patriarch; and that the pilgrims should devote another year to the conquest and defence of the Greek provinces. The twelve electors assembled in the chapel of the palace, and their unanimous voices pronounced the doge worthy of the imperial purple; but the venerable patriot was satisfied with the honour of the nomination, and his prudence declined the union of the incompatible characters of the first magistrate of a republic, and the emperor of the East. Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainault was next solemnly proclaimed; and his competitor, the marquis of Montfer-

A. D. 1204.
May 16.

rat was the first to kiss the hand of the new sovereign. The Venetians claimed their right of naming the patriarch, and seated Thomas Morosini on the ecclesiastical throne; the revolution was confirmed by the holy sanction of pope Innocent; and the ambassadors of Baldwin announced his accession to Palestine, France, and Rome.

One fourth of the Greek provinces was appropriated to the emperor; one moiety of the remainder was reserved for Venice; and the other

moiety was distributed among the adventurers of France and Lombardy; the venerable Dandolo was proclaimed despot of Romania, and closed his long and glorious life at Constantinople; the Venetians extended their factories and islands along the maritime coast from Ragusa to the Hellespont; but the support of their conquests exhausted their treasury; and at length they contented themselves with the homage of the nobles, who undertook to maintain these distant possessions; but the republic purchased the island of Crete of the marquis of Montferrat, whose services were compensated by the royal title and the provinces beyond the Hellespont, which he prudently exchanged for the kingdom of Thessalonica; the lots of the Latin pilgrims were regulated by chance, or choice, or subsequent exchange. Each baron, at the head of his knights and archers, attempted to secure the possession of his share; a thousand quarrels necessarily arose among men, whose sole umpire was the sword; and three months after the taking of Constantinople, the hostile preparations of the emperor and the king of Thessalonica, were only relinquished at the powerful mediation of the doge, the advice of the marshal Vellehardouin, and the firm freedom of their peers.

Two fugitives yet remained, who at different periods had usurped the purple; Mourzoufle who
was

was seized by the Latins of Constantinople, and precipitated from the Theodosian column, a pillar one hundred and forty-seven feet in height; and Alexius, the brother of Isaac, who was sent to end his days in a monastery of Asia. His son-in-law, Theodore Lascaris, had signalised his valour in the two sieges of Constantinople; after the flight of Mourzoufle, he offered himself as their emperor to the soldiers and the people; but the Latins were already in the city; the abject despair of the multitude refused his aid; he escaped to Anatolia, and established his independent authority, from his residence at Nice, over Prusa, Philadelphia, Smyrna, and Ephesus. Alexius, the lineal heir of the Comneni, had been appointed duke of Trebizond; amidst the public confusion, without changing his title, he reigned from Sinope to the Phasis, along the coast of the Black Sea. A bastard of the house of Angeli founded a strong principality in Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly; and the independent states of Trebizond, Epirus, and Nice, revived the valour, the learning, and the piety of more prosperous days.

John, the revolted chief of the Bulgarians and Walachians, had reluctantly submitted to the supremacy claimed by the emperor Baldwin, and the Latin conquerors. He watched and fomented the rising discontents of the Greeks, and as soon as Henry, the emperor's brother, had transported

his troops beyond the Hellespont, the
 A. D. 1205. signal of revolt was given; the Latins, without arms or suspicion, were slaughtered by the merciless revenge of their slaves; the furious multitude expelled the French and Venetians from the city of Hadrianople; and the general consternation was increased by the rapid approach of John at the head of his Bulgarians, and fourteen thousand Comans, whom he had allured from the Scythian wilderness. The emperor, alarmed at this danger, sent a messenger to recall his brother; and had he awaited the junction of Henry with twenty thousand Armenians, he might have encountered the invaders with equal numbers and superior discipline; but the ardent spirit of Baldwin induced him to attempt the siege of Hadrianople; and the rashness of the count of Blois precipitated him into an action with the
 A. D. 1205. Comans; the heavy cavalry of the
 April 15. Latins was fatigued and confused by the rapid evolutions of their adversaries; after an ineffectual display of personal valour, the count of Blois was slain on the field, and the emperor Baldwin became the prisoner of John the Bulgarian.

The delay of the victors, allowed the venerable doge and the marshal Villehardouin to retire towards the sea-coast; and the skill and firmness of the latter, in a retreat of three days, has com-
 manded

manded the admiration of posterity ; at Rodosto they were joined by Henry and his friends, who had landed from the Asiatic shore ; their interview was mournful ; and count Henry in the absence of his brother assumed the regency of the declining empire. The Comans had indeed retired from the summer heats, but seven thousand Latins had also deserted the standard and capital of their brethren ; the pope in vain conjured the new profelyte, the king of Bulgaria, to restore peace and the emperor to the afflicted Latins ; Baldwin was already no more ; the unfortunate prince had expired in prison, and the manner of his death is variously related ; the regent Henry, on the melancholy intelligence, consented to assume the title of emperor ; but he

was encompassed on every side with A. D. 1206.

difficulties : the venerable Dandolo had sunk under the pressure of accumulated years ; the king of Thessalonica, in the moment of victory, had been mortally wounded by a Bulgarian hand ; the marshal Villehardouin no longer existed ; or if he yet lived, no longer possessed, or displayed, his former vigour ; yet Henry, unsupported and almost alone, in the siege of Constantinople and beyond the Hellespont, acquired the character of a valiant knight, and a skilful commander. He was ever foremost on shipboard, or on horse-

back; and the drooping Latins were often roused by his example to save and second their fearless emperor. The fickle Greeks already repented their invitation of John of Bulgaria, who no longer dissembled his intention of dispeopling Thrace, and transplanting the inhabitants beyond the Danube. The cries of the unhappy natives excited the compassion of Henry. With four hundred knights, and their attendants, he repulsed the Bulgarian monarch at the head of forty thousand horse; and the savage John, as he pressed the siege of Thessalonica, was stabbed in the night in his tent. The prudence of Henry, after successive victories, concluded an honourable peace with the successor of the tyrant, and with the Greek princes of Nice and Epirus; but in a superstitious age he presumed to oppose the pride and avarice of the clergy, and the virtuous prince expired at Thessalonica, not without the suspicion of poison, and while he was engaged in protecting the dominions and infant son of his friend Boniface.

The barons of France raised to the throne Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, and cousin to the French king, in preference to Andrew king of Hungary, who had married a daughter of Yolande, the sister of the two last emperors.

A. D. 1217.

The ambitious Courtenay, to assert his title, mortgaged the best part of his

his patrimony, and, by the assistance of Philip of France, passed the Alps at the head of one hundred and forty knights, and was crowned by pope Honorius. The Venetians transported Peter and his forces beyond the Adriatic, on condition that he should recover for them Durazzo from the despot of Epirus, Theodore Angelus. After an ineffectual assault, the emperor pursued his march from Durazzo towards Theſſalonica; but he was soon entangled in the mountains of Epirus; arrested at a perfidious banquet by the treacherous Theodore; and terminated a hopeless captivity either by a natural or violent death.

The eldest son of the late emperor, Philip of Courtenay, preferred his mother's inheritance of Namur, to the precarious imperial sceptre; and Robert, the second son, was crowned by the patriarch in the cathedral of St. Sophia; but during his calamitous reign, the French were pressed on all sides by the Greeks of Nice and Epirus. Theodore Angelus expelled from Theſſalonica the son of Boniface, erected his standard on the walls of Hadrianople, and claimed the title of emperor. John Vataces, the son-in-law and successor of Theodore Lascaris, seized the remnant of the Asiatic province. His fleets commanded the Hellespont, reduced the islands of Lesbos and Rhodes, attacked the Venetians of Candia, and intercepted the succours of
the

the West; and the unhappy Robert, oppressed by public misfortunes and personal insults, found refuge only in the grave from the intolerable weight of grief and shame.

A. D. 1128.

Baldwin of Courtenay had been born during the captivity of his father Peter, and though dear by birth to the barons of Romania, yet his infant years induced them to invest with the titles

A. D. 1228.

and prerogatives of emperor, Brienne, the titular king of Jerusalem, on condition that Baldwin should marry his second daughter, and succeed, at a mature age, to the throne of Constantinople. The age of Brienne exceeded fourscore years; his youth had been passed in the acquisition of martial renown, and time had not impaired his faculties. Yet the beginning of his reign was consumed in inactivity, till he was aroused by the formidable alliance of Vataces, emperor of Nice, and of Azan, king of Bulgaria. At the head of his cavalry, the aged hero sallied from the walls of his capital; the numerous host of his enemies fled before him; and the citizens, animated by his example, boarded the hostile galleys near the walls, and twenty-five were dragged in triumph into the harbour of Constantinople; the succeeding year was witness of his triumph over the same enemies; and the last moments of the veteran monarch were dedicated to religion, and the venerable

able champion of the empire expired in the habit of a Franciscan monk.

The life and reign of Baldwin were unprofitably consumed in soliciting the cold compassion of the princes of Europe; A. D. 1237.

but the Christian powers beheld with calm indifference the sinking state of the empire, and dealt their bounties with a sparing hand; even the Roman pontiff confined his liberality to the proclamation of a crusade, and the cheap proffer of indulgences. Yet Constantinople still possessed one treasure which superstition considered as invaluable. The wants of the capital were relieved by the authentic crown of thorns which had been placed on the head of Christ; it was pledged to the Venetians for seven thousand pounds sterling; redeemed by the king of France; and the mind of Baldwin was reconciled to the loss of the holy and precious relic by the additional present of ten thousand marks of silver.

The arms of Vataces in successive campaigns had triumphed over the Bulgarians, and their kingdom was reduced to its present and proper limits, along the southern banks of the Danube. Demetrius was compelled to renounce the imperial purple, and the kingdom of Thessalonica was added to the empire of Nice; but the restoration of the Greeks was suspended by the death of Vataces, the short reign of Theodore his son, and
the

the helpless infancy of his grandson John; that young prince was oppressed by the ambition of his guardian Michael Palæologus, who displayed the virtues and vices that belong to the founder of a new dynasty. Intent on the conquest of Constantinople, his designs were promoted by the Genoese, the natural enemies of the republic of Venice; the Latins were driven from their last possessions in Thrace; the suburb of Galata was assaulted; and in the ensuing spring his favourite general Alexius Strategopulus, passed the Hellespont, reinforced his army with a race of peasants and outlaws, called *volunteers*, who cultivated the territory between the Propontis and the Black Sea, and advanced in the night with a chosen detachment to the gates of Constantinople. The bravest of the French and Venetians were absent on an expedition against the town of Daphnusia; the scaling ladders were applied; and part of the volunteers were conducted by a subterraneous passage into the heart of the city.

A. D. 1261. The air resounded with a general acclamation of "Long life and victory to Michael and John, the august emperors of the Romans!" The timid Baldwin fled from the palace to the sea-shore; he was received on board the Venetian fleet, which was just returned from a vain attempt on Daphnusia; was conducted to Italy; and consumed the remaining thirteen

teen years of his life in vainly soliciting the catholic powers to join in his restoration.

While the vagrant Baldwin endeavoured to excite the compassion, the successful Palæologus commanded the respect and esteem of the different princes of Europe. His mother was the elder sister of the wife of Theodore Lascaris, and had the law of female succession been strictly observed, might have urged her superior pretensions to the throne; the descent of Palæologus, and the imprudence of his adherents, had in the reign of Vataces exposed him to suspicion. He was advised by the archbishop of Philadelphia, a subtle courtier, to accept the judgment of God in the fiery proof of the ordeal; the patient was to bear a red-hot ball of iron three times from the altar to the rails of the sanctuary without artifice and without injury. Palæologus eluded the dangerous experiment with sense and pleasantry. "I am a soldier," said he, "and will boldly enter the lists with my accusers: but a layman, a sinner like myself, is not endowed with the gift of miracles. *Your* piety, most holy prelate, may deserve the interposition of heaven, and from your hands I will receive the fiery globe, the pledge of my innocence." The archbishop started; the emperor smiled; and the pardon of Michael, who already held the office of constable, was sealed by new rewards.

In

In the succeeding reign of Theodore, Palæologus had been alternately disgraced and restored, and the dying breath of the prince recommended to the constable the protection of his infant son; but his ambition or resentment soon induced him to violate his trust. He was elevated to the rank of regent; the treasures amassed by the œconomy of Vataces were employed to corrupt the guards, and subvert the throne of his grandson. By himself, or his emissaries, Michael strove to persuade every rank of subjects, that their own prosperity would rise in proportion to the establishment of his authority. The weight of taxes was suspended, and the trials by the ordeal and judicial combats were prohibited. He courted the clergy with every mark of external respect; flattered the multitude with the idea of liberty, and the advantages of an elective monarchy; and represented to the nobles the impending danger of a minority, and the necessity of a mature and experienced guardian. He was first invested with the title and prerogatives of despot, which bestowed the second place in the

A. D. 1260. Roman empire; he was soon after associated to the purple; and on the day of his coronation, the honours of precedence were assigned to his age and merit.

The new emperor had conferred the title of Cæsar on his general Strategopulus; and the veteran

teran repaid the obligation by restoring Constantinople to the authority of the Greeks. Twenty days after the expulsion of the La-

A. D. 1261.

Aug. 14.

tins, Michael made his triumphal entry into the capital. The first cares of the conqueror were to reinstate the nobles in their palaces; to recall the trembling and scattered inhabitants; to encourage the industry and confirm the privileges of the foreigners; and to repopulate the deserted city, by a liberal invitation to the provinces. His concern for the public was soon succeeded by an assiduous attention to his own interest; he was crowned again, and alone, in the church of St. Sophia; the name and

A. D. 1261.

Dec. 25.

honours of John Lafcaris, his pupil and lawful sovereign, were insensibly abolished; the conscience of the usurper might restrain him from dipping his hands in royal blood; but the eyesight of the unfortunate youth was destroyed, and he was removed to a distant castle, where he spent many years in privacy and oblivion. One subject alone presumed to arraign the treason and ingratitude of Palæologus; and Arsenius the patriarch drew the spiritual sword, and pronounced against the master of Constantinople the sentence of excommunication; in vain did Michael confess his guilt and deprecate his judge; the unrelenting prelate only condescended to answer, that for so great a crime, great indeed must be the satisfaction.

fatisfaction. "Do you require," said Michael, "that I should abdicate the empire?" and at these words he seemed to offer the sword of state. Arsenius eagerly grasped at this pledge of sovereignty; but the emperor refused to purchase absolution at so dear a rate; and the patriarch indignantly escaped to his cell.

The excommunication of Palæologus embarrassed his measures above three years; till the brethren of Arsenius condemned at length his inflexible spirit; he was involved in a rumour of conspiracy and disaffection; deposed by a synod from his episcopal office; and transported to a small island of the Propontis, where he expired. The imperial penitent, at the end of six years, received absolution in the presence of the senate and the people, and was restored to the communion of the faithful; but the spirit of Arsenius still survived in a powerful faction, and his adherents above forty-eight years persevered in an obstinate schism.

The arms of Michael wrested from the Franks several of the noblest islands of the Archipelago, Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes; his brother Constantine was sent to command in Malvasia and Sparta; and the eastern side of the Morea, from Argos and Napoli to Cape Tænerus, was repossessed by the Greeks; but in the prosecution of these western conquests, the countries beyond the Hellespont

Hellespont were left naked to the Turks ; and the minds of the Greeks were alienated from their sovereign by his union with the Latin church. Pope Urban the Fourth had affected to vindicate the cause of the fugitive Baldwin ; a crusade was preached by his command against the schismatic Greek ; and the subtle Palæologus, to calm the rising tempest, acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. But the conclusion of the treaty was regarded with abhorrence by his subjects ; they pronounced the Latins heretics, and firmly braved the power and persecution of the enraged Michael. The tyrant beheld with astonishment his favourites, and even his own family, desert him ; his sister Eulogia, a niece, and two female cousins, conspired against him ; at the time that his violence was detested at Constantinople, his irresolution was arraigned at Rome ; and while he was striving to reduce a schismatic people, he himself was excommunicated by pope Martin the Fourth. On the death of the emperor, the union was unanimously ab- A.D. 1283.
jured ; and the pious Andronicus denied his father the burial of a prince and a Christian.

Mainfroy, who reigned over the two Sicilies, had long braved with impunity the thunders of the vatican ; they were at length launched against him with success, by Charles count of Anjou and Provence, and brother of St. Louis ; in the

bloody battle of Benevento, Mainfroy
A. D. 1266. lost his friends, his kingdom, and his
life. Naples and Sicily were immediately peo-
pled by the victorious French, and their aspiring
leader menaced with his arms the Byzantine
empire; on the submission of Michael to the see
of Rome, Pope Gregory the Tenth had sheathed
the sword of the reluctant Charles: it was drawn
by Martin the Fourth; and Constantinople might
again have bowed before the arms of the West,
had not Michael stimulated a domestic enemy,
who claimed the entire attention of the Sicilian
monarch.

Conradin, the last heir of the imperial house of
Swabia, had been defeated by the sword of
Charles, and executed on a public scaffold.
Among his proscribed adherents, John of Pro-
cida, forfeited a small island of that name in the
bay of Naples. Procida was endowed with art
to enforce his reasons, and disguise his motives.
The new kingdoms of Charles were afflicted by
every species of oppression; the resentment of
the Neapolitans was repressed by the presence of
the sovereign himself; but his vicegerents in Si-
cily served only to excite the general contempt.
The eloquence of Procida awakened the barons
by the sense of interest, and aroused the island
with the name of freedom. Peter, king of Ar-
ragon, who possessed the maritime countries of
Valencia

Valencia and Catalonia, was induced by the offer of a crown, which he might justly claim by his marriage with the sister of Mainfroy, and by the dying voice of Conradin; the gold of Palæologus armed a Catalan fleet, which sailed under the pretence of attacking the Saracens of Africa; and pope Nicolas himself, the enemy of Charles, signed the treaty, and transferred the fiefs of St. Peter from the house of Anjou to that of Arragon.

On the vigil of Easter, a noble damsel was violated by a French soldier; the ravisher was instantly punished with death; the conspirators seized the opportunity; the flame spread over the island; and eight thousand French were exterminated in a promiscuous

A. D. 1282.
March 30.

massacre, which has obtained the name of the SICILIAN VESPER. The revolt was inspired by the presence of Procida; and Peter of Arragon, who sailed from the African coast to Palermo, was saluted as the king and saviour of the isle. Charles was confounded at the intelligence; he was heard to exclaim in an agony of grief and devotion, "O God! if thou hast decreed to
" humble me, grant me at least a gentle and
" gradual descent from the pinnacle of greatness." His fleet and army were hastily recalled from the Grecian war; and the first tempest of his rage burst upon Messina. The citizens in

vain sued for pardon; the implacable monarch demanded that eight hundred rebels should be yielded to his discretion; despair animated the Messinese; the fleet of Peter of Arragon approached to their relief; Charles retired to the A. D. 1282. Calabrian shore; and the French fleet
Oa. was defeated and destroyed by the Catalan squadron. From this moment the life of Charles was a series of misfortunes; and Sicily, severed from the throne of Naples, was transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the house of Arragon.

The empire of Andronicus was assaulted and endangered by a race of men, who first had been nurtured in discord by his father Michael. After the peace of Sicily many thousands of Genoese and *Catalans* heard the Greek provinces of Asia were invaded by the Turks, and determined to share the spoil; they were readily supplied with the means for their departure by Frederic king of Sicily; in a warfare of twenty years, arms were their sole profession and property. Roger de Flor, the most popular of their chiefs, had been successively a templar, an apostate, a pirate, and was become the most powerful admiral in the Mediterranean. He sailed from Messina to Constantinople with eighteen gallies, four great ships, and eight thousand adventurers, and was received with transport by the elder Andronicus, and created

ated duke of Romania. He defeated the Turks in two bloody battles, raised the siege of Philadelphia, and was hailed as the deliverer of Asia; but his demands were at least proportioned to his services; and his licentious soldiers became equally formidable to the empire as the Moslems. While the style of Roger was respectful, his conduct was independent; and though he retained the command of his Catalans, he condescended to accept the title and ornaments of Cæsar. The new Cæsar was stabbed in the apartment of the empress by the Alani guards; this deed was imputed to private revenge, yet his followers at Constantinople were involved in the same fate by the rage of the people. The crowd of adventurers, intimidated by the loss of their leader, hoisted sail, and fled towards the Mediterranean coast; but a band of fifteen hundred stationed in the fortress of Gallipoli, displayed the banner of Arragon, twice defeated the united force of the empire, and intercepted the trade of Constantinople and the Black Sea, till the discord of their chiefs, and the want of provisions, compelled them to evacuate the banks of the Hellespont, and the neighbourhood of the capital.

 CHAPTER XLVI.

REIGNS OF ANDRONICUS, THE ELDER AND YOUNGER,
AND JOHN PALÆOLOGUS — REGENCY, REVOLT,
REIGN, AND ABDICATION OF JOHN CANTACU-
ZENE—ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENOESE CO-
LONY AT PERA—THEIR WARS WITH THE
EMPIRE AND CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

ANDRONICUS, afterwards surnamed the elder, had been proclaimed and crowned emperor in the fifteenth year of his age; he held that august title nine years as the colleague, and fifty as the successor, of his father. The
A. D. 1282. virtue and learning for which he is celebrated contributed not either to the prosperity or glory of his long and uninteresting reign. The abject slave of superstition, his mind was continually agitated by the terrors of a *future* state; while the invasion of the Catalans exposed the weakness, and the rise of the Ottoman power, menaced

naced the existence, of his present empire. Michael, the elder son of Andronicus, was associated to the purple; but the humble virtues of this prince neither excited the jealousy, nor raised the hopes of the people; the son of Michael was named Andronicus from his grandfather, and the early appearance of wit and beauty endeared him to the emperor. He was educated in the palace as an heir and a favourite, and the names of the father, the son, and the grandson, were joined in the oaths and acclamations of the people; but the emperor soon had reason and leisure to reflect on his hasty partiality. The mind of the youth was corrupted by his premature greatness, and he beheld with impatience the double obstacle that opposed his rising ambition; the capital was disturbed by his tumultuous revels and assiduous intemperance; and the lives of his brother and father were at length the victims of his vices. A beautiful female, of honourable rank, but of licentious manners, had delivered her person to the embraces of the younger Andronicus; but the prince had reason to suspect the nocturnal visits of a rival; his guards were placed at her door, and their arrows pierced a stranger who was passing through the streets; that stranger was prince Manuel, his brother, who died of the wound; and their common father Michael, expired in a few days after, lamenting with his last breath the loss of

both his sons. The younger Andronicus but ill dissembled his joy at the removal of his two competitors, and the reigning emperor, alarmed at his repeated disorders, transferred his hopes and affection to another grandson. An oath of allegiance was exacted to the elder Andronicus and the *person* whom he should appoint for his successor; and the acknowledged heir was exposed to the indignity of a public trial. But the palace courts were soon filled with the armed followers of the younger Andronicus, and the reconciliation to which his grandfather consented, exposed the weakness of the latter, and confirmed the ambitious designs of the former.

In a short time, under the pretence of hunting, the young prince escaped from the capital, erected his standard at Adrianople, and assembled in a few days fifty thousand horse and foot. The enterprise was directed, and the rebels were animated by the policy and courage of John Cantacuzene, the great domestic; but though the force of the conspirators was such as might have commanded the empire, yet their motions were slow and doubtful, and their progress was checked by intrigue and negotiation; during seven ruinous years the quarrel of the two Andronici was suspended and renewed. In the first treaty, the
younger

younger acquired the sovereignty of the greatest part of Thrace, from Philippi to the Byzantine limit. By the second he stipulated the payment of his troops, his immediate coronation, and an adequate share of the power and the revenue of the state. The third civil war was terminated by the surprise of Constantinople, the final retreat of the old emperor, and the sole reign of his victorious grandson. These various delays may be found in characters of the men and of the times. The elder Andronicus had long lost the respect of his subjects, and the destructive progress of the Turks contributed to alienate the minds of the people. "How different," said the younger Andronicus, "is my situation from that of the son of Philip; Alexander might complain that his father would leave him nothing to conquer: alas! my grandfire will leave me nothing to lose." Yet the indolence of the ambitious youth long prevented him from ascending the throne, and the moments which ought to have been dedicated to the prosecution of his enterprise, were devoted to his hawks, his hounds, and his huntsmen.

When the aged emperor resigned the sceptre into the hands of his grandson, he was for some time permitted the use of the great palace, and assigned a pension of twenty-four thousand pieces of
of

of gold. This allowance was gradually diminished to ten thousand, while the afflictions of the aged prince were augmented by the loss of his sight. His confinement was every day rendered more rigorous, and he was compelled, by the threats of instant death, to exchange the imperial purple for a monastic habit. The monk *Antony* renounced the pomp of the world; in his sequestered cell his wants were few, but even those few were neglected by his unfeeling or inconsiderate grandson; the trifle he could obtain was often appropriated to relieve the more painful distress of a friend; and four years after his abdication, and in the seventy-fourth year of his age, the penitent monarch expired A. D. 1332. with the hopes of a more splendid crown in heaven.

The reign of the younger was not more fortunate or glorious than that of the elder Andronicus. He was defeated and wounded in a decisive battle with the Turks, and his overthrow confirmed the establishment of the Turkish monarchy. The abuses of the civil government accelerated the decay of the empire; and his own, was the consequence of his early intemperance, and the indulgence of his unbridled passions. In the forty-fifth year of his age he A. D. 1341. sunk into the grave; by his first wife Irene, the daughter of the duke of Brunswick, he

he left no children; his second marriage with Anne, the sister of the count of Savoy, was attended by the birth of John Palæologus, his only son and successor.

The empress Anne survived her husband; and the weakness of the infant emperor, who had only entered his ninth year, was protected by the genius of John Cantacuzene. That illustrious Greek had long been the friend and support of the younger Andronicus; and in the moments of sickness, the late emperor pressed him to accept the imperial title; the dangerous proposal was rejected by the virtue of the great domestic, and he was named in the testament of Andronicus, as the guardian of his son, and the regent of the empire. He might perhaps have discharged the duties of these important trusts with zeal and fidelity, had he met a suitable return of obedience and gratitude. The first month of his authority was flattered by the submission of the capital and the provinces; but the prospect of a tranquil minority was soon blasted by the ambition of Apocaucus, the great admiral, who had been raised to that office by the influence of Cantacuzene himself, contrary to the advice of his more discerning sovereign. The arrogance of Apocaucus was augmented by the command of a naval force and an impregnable castle. He encouraged Anne of Savoy to assert, by the law of nature,

nature, the tutelage of her son. He flattered, and soon allured into his measures, John of Apri, the patriarch, a proud and feeble old man, encompassed by a numerous and hungry kindred. That prelate produced an obsolete epistle of Andronicus, which bequeathed the prince and people to his pious care; he haughtily assumed the temporal claims of a Roman pontiff, and Cantacuzene was encompassed on every side by the powerful confederacy. His prerogatives were disputed; his opinions slighted; his friends persecuted; and while he was absent on the public service, he was proscribed as an enemy to church and state; his fortunes were confiscated; his aged mother cast into prison; and he was driven by injustice to perpetrate the crime of which he was accused. He had long, previous to any open hostility, solicited permission to retire to a monastic life; and even after he was declared a public enemy, it was with difficulty he was dissuaded from the resolution of throwing himself at the feet of the young emperor, and patiently submitting to the stroke of the executioner.

From this design he was diverted by the remonstrances of his family and friends, who convinced him that no resource remained but that
A. D. 1341. of assuming the imperial title. In
October 26. the city of Demotica, his peculiar domain, he was invested with the purple; but even
in

in his revolt the names of John Palæologus, and Anne of Savoy, were proclaimed before his own, and that of his wife Irene. The want of preparation confirms his assurance, that the step was the effect of necessity rather than choice; the capital, the provinces, and the leaders of the troops leaned, or adhered, to the cause of the young emperor; the army of Cantacuzene deserted him, and with five hundred followers he was compelled to seek a retreat among the savage Servians; their *cral*, or despot, at first received the fugitive with generous hospitality; but Cantacuzene was gradually degraded to a suppliant, a captive, and a hostage; and was at length dismissed to a new vicissitude of hope and perils; for six years the empire was distracted by the various successs of the contending factions; and it was the just remark of Cantacuzene himself, when speaking of foreign and civil war; “the former,” said he, “is the external warmth of summer, always tolerable, and often beneficial; the latter is the deadly heat of a fever, which consumes without a remedy the vitals of the constitution.”

The liberality of Cantacuzene acquired at length the support of the Turks of Asia; and the death of Apocaucus soon decided the inclining scale in his favour; the suspicious admiral had confined, in the old palace of Constantiné,

time, a crowd of nobles and disaffected citizens; while he urged in person the restoration of the walls, and the construction of some new cells, he was assaulted, and laid breathless on the ground, by two resolute prisoners of the Palæologian race, who were armed with sticks, and animated by despair. His head was exposed on the battlements; but his fate was avenged by his widow and his adherents, and all the prisoners were equally involved in a promiscuous and indiscriminating massacre; yet his talents alone upheld the cause of the young emperor; and his surviving associates, suspicious of each other, abandoned the conduct of the war, and rejected the fairest terms of accommodation. The empress Anne had at first complained that she was deceived by the enemies of Cantacuzene, and that the patriarch had bound her by an oath, under the penalty of excommunication, to eternal enmity; but that enmity was soon rendered voluntary by the competition of a rival empress; and in her turn, she threatened the patriarch, who seemed desirous of an accommodation, to convene a synod, and degrade him from his office; yet though their discord afforded the most signal advantages to Cantacuzene, the progress of his arms was slow and gradual; he successively recovered the distant provinces and cities, and at length invested his pupil in the walls of Constantinople,

tinople, which he had already secured by the public voice, and private correspondence. The besiegers were introduced by an Italian of the name of Facciolati; the empress Anne was persuaded to submit; and the conqueror dictated a treaty, by which the marriage of his daughter with John Palæologus was consummated, the hereditary right of the A. D. 1347. pupil was acknowledged, but the sole administration, during ten years, was vested in the guardian.

The triumph and reign of John Cantacuzene were clouded by the discontent of his own and the adverse faction. His friends regretted the fortunes they had forfeited in his cause, and which were irretrievably alienated by an act of oblivion; his enemies blushed to hold their lives and possessions by the precarious favour of an usurper. The partizans of Anne were alarmed by a petition from the adherents of Cantacuzene, that they might be absolved from their oath of allegiance to the Palæologi; and the repose of the monarch was continually disturbed by plots and seditions. The son of Andronicus, as he advanced in years, began to feel and to act for himself; and with the ambition of his father, he inherited his sordid and sensual appetites. The younger colleague was initiated by the elder in the mysteries of war and government during the Servian

Servian expedition. On the conclusion of the peace he was left at Theſſalonica, and ſecluded from the eye of Cantacuzene; he concluded a private treaty with the cral of Servia, which was ſoon followed by an open revolt. In vain did Anne of Savoy attempt to mediate between the rivals, and repreſent that the ten years of the legal adminiſtration of the regent would ſoon expire, and that he panted to retire, at the end of that term, within a cloyſter. Palæologus perſevered, and was only repulſed by the numbers and martial courage of the Turks, who eſpouſed the cauſe of the regent, and now eſtabliſhed themſelves for ever in Europe. The victorious Cantacuzene no longer hoped to regain the confidence of the ſon of Andronicus; and by the aſſociation of his ſon, Matthew, rendered the quarrel irreconcilable; but Conſtantinople was ſtill attached to the blood of her ancient princes; and a noble Genoefe eſpouſed the cauſe of Palæologus, obtained a promiſe of his ſiſter, and atchieved the revolution with two gallies, and two thouſand five hundred auxiliaries; he was admitted into the port under the pretence of diſtreſs; a gate was opened at night; and John Cantacuzene was informed by the acclamations of the people, “ long life and victory to the emperor, John Palæologus,” of the ſucceſs of his colleague, and the extinction of his own authority,

thority. He descended from the throne, embraced the monastic habit A. D. 1355. and profession, and devoted the remainder of his life to piety and learning.

Before the abdication of Cantacuzene, his throne had been shaken by the hostile disposition of the Genoese. When Constantinople was restored to the authority of the Greeks, the suburb of Pera had been bestowed as a fief, by the bounty of Michael Palæologus, on his allies, the Genoese. In the subsequent reign, that suburb was destroyed by the Venetians, the implacable enemies of Genoa, and her colonies; but the sufferers obtained from the easy temper of the elder Andronicus, the formidable permission of surrounding Pera with walls, and of mounting on the rampart a train of military engines. The strangers gradually and daily acquired some addition of landed property, and the adjacent hills were soon covered with their villas and castles, which they joined and protected by new fortifications. The colony of Pera assumed the prerogatives of an independent state; the haughty merchants of Genoa monopolized almost every branch of commerce, oppressed the Greeks with their naval armaments, and fed, or famished, Constantinople, according to their interest.

The emperor Cantacuzene had refused to these encroaching neighbours some contiguous heights,

on which they proposed to erect new fortifications ; in the absence of that prince, A. D. 1348. who was detained by sickness at Demotica, the ambitious traders of Pera sunk, and murdered the crew of a Byzantine vessel, which presumed to fish off the mouth of the harbour ; encouraged by the weakness of the empire, they insisted the Greeks should renounce the exercise of navigation ; they occupied and entrenched the land which had been formally denied them, burnt two imperial gallies, and plundered the habitations that were beyond the gates. The arrival of Cantacuzene dispelled the public consternation ; but he vainly recommended to his obstinate enemies, and to his indignant subjects, the propriety of peaceful counsels ; yet the clamours of the Greeks were but ill-seconded by their actions in the hour of danger. While the Genoese, doubtful of the event, prepared to desert their colony, the Byzantine fleet and army, struck with a sudden panic, fled, or became the prey of a distant and inactive enemy. The crews, composed of peasants and mechanics, abandoned their vessels, and the captive gallies were dragged in triumph by the Genoese, who themselves blushed at their bloodless victory. The baffled Cantacuzene soon sought and obtained the alliance of the Venetians and Catalans ; A. D. 1352. but in a bloody battle, the confederate

derate fleets were repulsed and defeated by the Genoese; the Venetians retired; the Greeks alone were incapable of continuing the war; a treaty was signed, by which the victors obtained a monopoly of trade; and the colony of Pera awed the capital and navigated the Euxine, till it was involved by the Turks in the final servitude of Constantinople itself.

CHAPTER XLVII.

CONQUESTS OF ZINGIS KHAN AND THE MOGULS,
FROM CHINA TO POLAND—ORIGIN OF THE OT-
TOMAN TURKS IN BITHYNIA—REIGNS AND
VICTORIES OF OTHMAN, ORCHAN, AMURATH
THE FIRST, AND BAJAZET THE FIRST—
PROGRESS OF THE TURKISH MONARCHY
IN ASIA AND EUROPE—DANGER OF
CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE GREEK
EMPIRE.

IN tracing the rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, it will be necessary first to describe the great eruption of the Moguls and Tartars; nor can the reader be displeased at this opportunity of briefly reviewing the nations, the immediate, or remote, authors of the fall of the Roman empire.

The countries between China, Siberia, and the Caspian Sea, have repeatedly poured forth their numbers to shake and subvert the thrones of Asia and Europe. In the twelfth century, these
ancient

ancient seats of the Huns and Turks were occupied by many pastoral tribes, of similar descent and manners, which were united and led to conquest by the formidable Zingis; the birth of that Barbarian, whose private appellation was Temugin, was noble; his father had reigned over thirteen hords, which comprised about thirty or forty thousand families; these refused to acknowledge the authority of his infant son, and at thirteen Temugin fought a battle against, and was defeated by, his rebellious subjects; but his genius rose superior to his fortune, and at forty he had established his dominion over the neighbouring tribes. His followers he rewarded with unbounded liberality, and divided among them all he possessed, his horses and his apparel; his enemies he punished with unprecedented severity; and after his first victory, seventy of the most guilty rebels were cast into as many cauldrons of boiling water. The hope of reward, and the dread of punishment, are two of the most powerful incentives to the human mind; and the boldest chieftains might tremble, when they beheld, enchased with silver, the skull of the khan of the Keraites, who under the name of Prester John, had corresponded with the Roman pontiff and the princes of Europe: yet the daring Temugin condescended to employ the arts of superstition, and

A. D. 1206.

declared that a naked prophet had bestowed on him the title of Zingis, the *most great*, and a right to the dominion of the earth. He was seated on a felt, which was long preserved as a relic, and was solemnly proclaimed in a general diet great khan, or emperor, of the Moguls and Tartars.

By the laws which Zingis dictated to his subjects, the crimes of adultery, murder, and perjury, and the capital thefts of an horse or an ox, were punished with death. The necessary domestic labours of the victorious nation were assigned to the hands of slaves and strangers; and the hours of the Tartars were dedicated to the pleasures of the chace and the profession of arms. The khan of the Tartars could neither read nor write, yet his reason dictated to him the existence of one God, the author of all good; and he established by his laws a system of pure theism and perfect toleration. The Tartars and the Moguls were addicted to the idols of their peculiar tribes; and many of them had been converted by the foreign missionaries of Moses, of Mahomet, and of Christ; these various systems were taught and practised in the same camp, and the bonze, the iman, the rabbi, and the Latin priest, enjoyed the same honourable exemption from service and tribute.

The hords of the Desert, who pitched their
tents

tents between the wall of China and the Volga, were successively reduced by the arms of Zingis, whose authority extended over the pastoral world, and whose empire contained many millions of shepherds and soldiers, confident in their own strength, and impatient to share the spoils of the fertile south. The Chinese had imposed a tribute on the ancestors of Temugin, and he himself had been disgraced by a title of honour and servitude; the vassal of the court of Peking claimed the same tribute and obedience which he had formerly paid; his demands were haughtily rejected; but his innumerable squadrons soon pierced the feeble barrier of the great wall; ninety cities were stormed or starved; and an hundred thousand khitans, A. D. 1210. who were appointed to guard the frontier, supported his invasion by their revolt; yet the conqueror condescended to listen to a treaty, and his retreat was purchased by a princess of China, three thousand horses, five hundred youths, as many virgins, and a tribute of gold and silk. The Chinese emperor was compelled, by a second expedition, to retire beyond the Yellow River to a more southern residence; after an A. D. 1214. obstinate defence, the city of Peking was taken; the palace was destroyed; and the empire of Zingis was augmented by the five northern provinces of China.

Mohammed, the sultan of Carizme, had provoked the reluctant resentment of Zingis, who wished to establish a friendly intercourse with the most powerful of the Moslem princes, by the murder of three Tartar ambassadors, and one hundred and fifty merchants. Seven hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars marched under the standard of Zingis and his four sons; they were encountered, in the vast plains to the north of the Jaxartes, by four hundred thousand soldiers of the sultan; in the first battle, which A. D. 1218. was only suspended by the night, one hundred and sixty thousand Carizmians were slain; and Mohammed, dismayed by the numbers and valour of his enemies, withdrew from the field, and cautiously distributed his troops in the frontier towns: but the prudence of Zingis had formed a body of Chinese engineers skilled in the mechanic arts; Bochara, Samarcand, Carizme, Herat, and Candahar, were successively taken; the populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorasan, were subdued; and many hundred miles from the Caspian to the Indus, the devastations of the Tartars were extended with such incredible alacrity and diligence, that five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. Mohammed had expired in a desert island of the Caspian Sea, and the valour of his son Gelaledin, though it ineffectually

effectually opposed the torrent of the Tartar invasion, yet it extorted the admiration of Zingis himself. Oppressed by the innumerable host of his enemies, Gelaleddin spurred his horse into the Indus, and swam one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of Asia.

The murmurs of his troops checked the progress of the Mogul conqueror; from the banks of the Indus, laden with A. D. 1224. spoil, he reluctantly measured back his steps; the desolated face of the country excited his pity; and he declared his intention of rebuilding the cities which had been swept away in his triumphant course; his generals had already subdued the western provinces of Persia, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga and the Desert, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea; the rebellious, or independent kingdoms of Tartary, were overthrown on the return of Zingis; his career of glory and victory was only interrupted by death; and his last breath exhorted and instructed his son to achieve the conquest of the Chinese empire. A. D. 1227.

The immediate successor of Zingis, was his son Octai; Gayuk received the paternal sceptre of Octai, and it was devolved by general consent on his cousins Mangou and Cublai, the sons of Tuli, and the grandsons of Zingis. Almost

all

all Asia, and a large portion of Europe, were subdued in the sixty eight years of his four first successors; and the progress of their arms will be rapidly recapitulated, I. in the East; II. in the South; III. in the West; and IV. in the North.

I. China, before the invasion of Zingis, had been divided into two dynasties of the North and South; the northern empire, which had been dismembered by the arms, was finally subdued seven years after the death of the first Mogul conqueror. The emperor of China, after the loss of Pekin, had fixed his residence at Kaifong; and driven from thence, had made his last unsuccessful stand in a third capital; he escaped only with seven horsemen, and the hopeless prince ascended a funeral pile, and gave orders, that as

soon as he had stabbed himself, the
 A. D. 1234. fire should be kindled by his attendants. The southern dynasty was not entirely extinguished till the reign of Cublai; the royal residence of Hamchan, or Quinsay, was invested, and the emperor, a defenceless youth, was compelled to prostrate himself before the great khan, who was content to spare his life, and to banish him to Tartary; from Hamchan to Canton the spirit of independence was still nourished, and at last transferred to the sea; but all opposition sunk before the arms of Cublai; the last champion of the Chinese plunged into the sea with his
 infant

infant emperor, exclaiming, "it is more glorious to die a prince, than to live
 "a slave." From Tonkin to the great wall, the whole empire submitted to Cublai; the adjacent kingdoms of Corea, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were degraded by tribute and obedience; Japan was twice protected from his ambition by the seasonable interposition of storms; but the distant isle of Borneo was alarmed and ravaged by a fleet of a thousand ships.

II. In the successive reigns of Mangou and Cublai, Persia was reduced under the Mogul yoke. The subjection of Hindostan, by the house of Timour, was delayed to a later period; but the Abbassides, who had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad, and the Arabian Irak, were finally extinguished by the arms of Hologou, the lieutenant and brother of Mangou and Cublai. Bagdad was stormed and sacked by the Moguls; and their savage commander pronounced the death of the caliph Motasssem, the last of the temporal successors of Mahomet, whose noble kinsmen, of the race of Abbas, had reigned in Asia above five hundred years. The victorious Moguls spread beyond the Tigris and the Euphrates, plundered Aleppo and Damascus, and menaced Egypt, which was protected by the valour of the

A. D. 1279.

A. D. 1258.

the Mamalukes, in many a hard-fought field. A. D. 1242. The returning tide overwhelmed the ^{1272.} kingdoms of Armenia and Anatolia; and the sultans of Iconium, after a transient resistance, were finally extirpated by the khans of Persia.

III. In the reign of Octai, his nephew Batou, with five hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars, ravaged the remote countries of the West. In less than six years, his rapid and in- A. D. 1235. numerable squadrons measured a line of ninety degrees longitude; they traversed the great rivers, the Volga and Kama, the Don and Borysthenes, the Vistula and Danube. The plains of Turkestan and Kipzak, the kingdoms of Astracan and Cazan, the countries of Georgia and Circassia, were deluged by the formidable host; from Livonia to the Black Sea, Russia was enslaved by the Tartars; thence they penetrated into the heart of Poland, and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were destroyed, the dukes of Silesia were defeated in the battle of Lignitz, and the Carpathian hills were pierced by their irresistible columns. The whole country north of the Danube was lost in a day, and depopulated in a summer. Of all the cities and fortresses of Hungary, three alone survived the Tartar invasion; and the unfortunate monarch, Bela the Fourth, was compelled

pelled to seek a refuge in the islands of the Adriatic. After wasting the adjacent kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, Batou retreated towards the Volga, to enjoy his city and palace of Serai, which started at his command from the midst of the desert. A. D. 1245.

IV. Even the frozen regions of the north could not escape the ambitious arms of the Moguls; Sheibani Khan, the brother of Batou, established himself at Tobolskoy, and his descendants maintained their throne above three centuries, till the Russian conquest. Fifteen years after the death of Zingis, the name and manners of the Samoyedes in the neighbourhood of the polar circle, and who dwelt in subterraneous huts, were become familiar to the indefatigable Moguls. A. D. 1242.

The successors of Zingis had devolved the toils of conquest on their martial lieutenants; and with the extension of their dominion, they insensibly relaxed from the pastoral manners of their ancestors. Their tents were exchanged for houses, and Caracorum, the royal residence of Ootai and Mangou, gradually assumed the appearance of a city. The artists of China and Paris vied with each other in the service of the great khan; and Cublai, who fixed his residence at Pekin, restored the ancient constitution of China, adopted the laws, and imbibed the fashions, and even the prejudices

prejudices of the people whom he had vanquished. The Tartar monarch declined from the simple religion of Zingis, and the disciples of Confucius were scandalized at his sacrifices to the idol Fo, and his blind attachment to the lamas of Thibet and the bonzes of China. One hundred and forty years after the death of Zingis, his degenerate race was expelled by a revolt of the native Chinese; and after the death of Cublai they had forfeited their supremacy over the dependant branches of their house, the khans of Kipzak and Russia, the khans of Zagatai and Transoxiana, and the khans of Iran or Persia; these, according to their situation, maintained the simplicity of the pastoral life, or were allured by Asiatic luxury; but they renounced all intercourse with the ancient Moguls, the idolators of China, and unanimously conformed to the religion of Mahomet.

Constantinople, most probably, must have been involved in the fate of Pekin, Samarcand, and Bagdad, had not death surprised Batou while he meditated the conquest of, and was rapidly advancing towards, the capital of the Cæsars. His brother Borga penetrated into Bulgaria and Thrace, but his attention was diverted from the Byzantine war to the possession of Novogorod, and the internal regulation of Russia. Michael Palæologus was indeed surprised in a Thracian castle by thirty thousand Tartars; but their ob-
ject

ject was the deliverance of Azzadin, the Turkish sultan, with whose person, and the treasure of the emperor, they were content; and their general Noga, who maintained a formidable rebellion against the khan of Kipzak, married Maria, the natural daughter of Palæologus, and guarded the dominions of his father and friend. The enterprises of the Moguls rather secured than disturbed the Roman provinces of Asia, and the hostility of Holagou the conqueror of Bagdad and his successors, to the Moslems, inclined them to unite with the Greeks and Franks. The house of Zingis was at length weakened by internal discord, and the jarring interests of its various princes; and the decline of the Moguls gave a free scope to the rise and progress of the Ottoman empire.

The sultan Gelaleddin of Carizme, after the retreat of Zingis, had returned to the possession of his Persian kingdoms; for eleven years he waged a continual war, and at last, oppressed by the jealousy of the Moslem princes, and the innumerable armies of the Moguls, he perished in the mountains of Curdistan. After his death, the bolder leaders of the Turkman hords, who had attached themselves to his fortune, invaded Syria; the more humble entered into the service of Aladin, the sultan of Iconium; among these were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line,
who

who had formerly pitched their tents near the southern banks of the Oxus. Orthogrul became the soldier and subject of Aladin, and governed, for fifty-two years, on the banks of the Sangar, a camp of four hundred families. His son Thaman, whose Turkish name has been changed for the appellation of the caliph Othman, was distinguished by the virtues of a soldier; he was situated on the verge of the Greek empire; the passes of Mount Olympus were neglected by the emperor Palæologus; and the ambitious Othman, sanctified by the koran in his war against A. D. 1299. the infidels, invaded the territory of July 27. Nicomedia. For twenty-seven years his formidable inroads were continued; he occupied and fortified the most useful posts and important castles, and as he sunk into the grave, received the welcome intelligence that Prusa had surrendered to the arms of his son Orchan.

By the attention of Orchan, Prusa assumed the aspect of a Mahometan capital, and was decorated with a mosch, a college, and an hospital of royal foundation. To the care of the city succeeded that of the army; the loose squadrons of cavalry which fought without pay or discipline, were permitted to follow the standard under the appellation of *free-booters*; but a permanent force was gradually raised from the captives, and a regular body of infantry was trained and established

blished. A train of battering engines was framed for the use of sieges; the first successful experiment was made on the cities of Nice and Nicomedia; and the kingdom of Bithynia submitted to the son of Othman. Yet the forces of that chief were surpassed by those of the emirs of Ghermian and Caramania; and the elder Andronicus, in the thirtieth year of his reign, had finally lost the maritime country from the Propontis to the Meander, and the isle of Rhodes. Philadelphia indeed maintained her religion and freedom above fourscore years, and at length obtained a favourable capitulation; and the servitude of Rhodes was delayed above two centuries by the establishment of the knights of Jerusalem.

The Turkish emirs of Lydia and Ionia had constructed a fleet, and pillaged the adjacent islands and sea-coast of Europe; and Cantacuzene, in defence of his honour and his life, formed an alliance with Amir, the son of Aidin, a Turkish chieftain; the prince of Ionia, with a fleet of three hundred vessels, and an army of twenty-nine thousand men, sailed in the depth of winter from Smyrna, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Hebrus. He relieved the empress Irene, who was besieged in Demotica by the wild Bulgarians; and during the civil war he twice returned to Europe, joined his arms with those

of Cantacuzene, besieged Thessalonica, and threatened Constantinople. Before his death he recommended the emperor to cultivate the friendship of the prince of Bithynia, who by his situation along the Propontis, and in the front of Constantinople, could afford a more prompt and powerful succour. The daughter of Cantacuzene was sacrificed to the ambition of her parent, and
 A. D. 1346. the hand of a Christian princess was bestowed on a sectary of Mahomet; yet Orchan considered this alliance only as subservient to his religion and interest, and in the Genoese war he joined without a blush the enemies of his father-in-law.

In his last quarrel with John Palæologus, Cantacuzene invited and accepted the aid of Soliman, the son of Orchan, with ten thousand horse; the service they might render in the civil wars of
 A. D. 1355. Romania, was more than balanced by the mischief they perpetrated. The Chersonesus was insensibly occupied, and Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, which had been shaken by an earthquake, was repaired and repopled by the policy of Soliman. The bands of domestic alliance were dissolved by the death of Cantacuzene; and his last advice fruitlessly admonished his countrymen to decline a rash contest with the numbers, the valour, the discipline, and enthusiasm of the Moslems.

A fall

A fall from his horse proved fatal to the valiant Soliman, and the aged Orchan expired on the tomb of his son; but A. D. 1360. Amurath, the second son, and who succeeded to the dominions of the Othman race, allowed the Greeks no time to rejoice in the death of their enemies. The province of Romania rather submitted at his summons, than was subdued by his arms; and Amurath fixed on Hadrianople for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe. On the East and the West, Constantinople was surrounded by the same hostile monarchy; but the Turkish prince suspended awhile the fate of the capital, and his pride was soothed by the humble attendance of the Grecian emperor and his four sons. The destructive inroads of Amurath were successfully directed against the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians; and the warlike natives of these countries were soon converted into the most faithful supporters of the Ottoman greatness; according to the Mahometan law, the sovereign was entitled to the fifth of the captives and the spoil, and the officers selected for his use the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youth; these were carefully instructed in religion and arms; and the new militia was consecrated by a celebrated dervish; standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the foremost soldier, and pro-

nounced these words : “ Let them be called Janizaries (*yeng cheri*, or new soldiers) : may their countenance be ever bright ! their hand victorious ! their sword keen ! may their spear always hang over the head of their enemies ! and wheresoever they go, may they return with a *white face* ! ” Such was the origin of these celebrated troops ; and the valour of the profelytes finally crushed in the battle of Cossova the league and independence of the Slavonian tribes. But their swords could not defend their master from the dagger of despair ; and as the conqueror walked over the field of victory, a Servian soldier started from the crowd of dead bodies, and Amurath was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound.

The epithet of *Ilderim*, or the lightning, expressed the character of Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath. Incessantly at the head of his armies, he invaded with impartial ambition the Christian and the Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia. He stripped his brother emirs of their hereditary possessions ; and the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians, after the conquest of Iconium, was revived in the Turkish dynasty. In Europe his conquests were equally important ; Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, acknowledged his authority ; and his galleys commanded the Hellespont, and secured the communication between

tween Europe and Asia. From the caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamelukes, Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of sultan; and desirous of proving himself worthy of his new title, he invaded Hungary; the cause of Sigismund, the Hungarian king, was espoused by the bravest knights of France and Germany; but an hundred thousand Christians were defeated by Bajazet in the plains of Nicopolis. The greater part was A. D. 1396. slain or driven into the Danube; John count of Nevers, and son of the duke of Burgundy, with twenty-four of the most considerable French nobles, were ransomed; the remainder were beheaded; and the emperor Sigismund escaping to Constantinople, returned with difficulty to his exhausted kingdom. In the pride of his victory, Bajazet boasted that he would besiege Buda, and that he would feed his horse on the altar of St. Peter at Rome; but the menaces of the conqueror were averted, and his progress was checked, by a long and painful fit of the gout.

For thirty-six years the emperor Palæologus was the helpless and careless spectator of the public ruin. His eldest son Andronicus had formed a guilty intimacy with Sauzes, the son of Amurath, and both the youths had conspired against the lives of their respective parents; their designs were discovered by Amurath, who deprived

Sauzes of his fight, and insisted Palæologus should inflict a similar punishment on his own son; the abject emperor obeyed, and involved his infant and innocent grandson John, in the sentence of his father. But the operation was so mildly performed, that the one retained the sight of an eye, and the other was only disfigured by the infirmity of squinting. The fidelity of Manuel, the second son, was rewarded with the imperial crown; but the levity of the Greeks, in two years, raised the late criminal, and his injured son, to the throne, and confined the aged emperor and Manuel in a prison; in another period of two years, those princes effected their escape, and the claims of the contending parties were compromised by assigning to the elder Palæologus and Manuel the capital, and by allotting whatever remained beyond the walls to the younger Palæologus and his son John. By the amorous passions of the old monarch, Manuel was deprived of a blooming princess of Trebizond, and sent to display his valour in the camp and the wars of the sultan; but the jealousy of Bajazet was excited by a plan of fortifying Constantinople; the new works were demolished at his peremptory command; this last mortification extinguished the feeble life of the old emperor; and Manuel, on the first intel-

intelligence, escaped from the Turkish camp to occupy the Byzantine throne.

That throne was disputed by his nephew John of Selybria, whose guilty father was no more; and Bajazet, after concluding a treaty with Manuel, and breaking that treaty almost as soon as concluded, embraced the cause of John, and invested the imperial city. Some French succours enabled Manuel during a whole year to repel the Moslems, but they soon returned with augmented numbers; the Greeks and their allies were incapable of withstanding the torrent; and Manuel determined to implore in person the assistance of France, and leave his competitor on the throne; John was scarce introduced into the capital, before it was claimed by the Turkish sultan as his own; and the refusal of the new emperor could have delayed but a short time the fate of the city, had not the rapid progress of Timour, or Tamerlane, summoned Bajazet to a contest with a more formidable enemy.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ELEVATION OF TIMOUR, OR TAMERLANE, TO THE
THRONE OF SAMARCAND—HIS CONQUESTS IN
PERSIA, GEORGIA, TARTARY, RUSSIA, INDIA,
SYRIA, AND ANATOLIA—HIS TURKISH WAR
—DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF BAJAZET—
DEATH OF TIMOUR—CIVIL WAR OF THE
SONS OF BAJAZET—RESTORATION OF
THE TURKISH MONARCHY BY MAHO-
MET THE FIRST—SIEGE OF CON-
STANTINOPLE BY AMURATH
THE SECOND.

TIMOUR, or Tamerlane, was a descendant of the noble tribe of Berlafs; and in the ascent of some generations, his branches is confounded, at least by the females, with the imperial stem of Zingis. He was born forty miles to the south of Samarcand, in the village of Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Cash, of which his fathers were the

the hereditary chiefs, as well as of ten thousand horse; but the domestic feuds of his countrymen had encouraged the khans of Cashgar to invade Transoxiana with an army of Getes or Calmucks. Timour entered into action in the twelfth year of his age, and in the twenty-fifth stood forth as the deliverer of his country; but the chiefs who had engaged to support him, preserved, in the hour of danger, a cautious distance. Timour was compelled to retire to the Desert with only sixty horsemen, and in his retreat he repulsed and broke a thousand Getes, who had presumed to pursue him; but his followers in the bloody action were reduced to ten; for sixty-two days he was confined in a noisome dungeon, and after extricating himself by his courage, he was urged by necessity, during some months, to embrace the life of a vagrant and outlaw. On his return to his country, he was successively joined by parties of his confederates; and after some vicissitudes of war, the superior numbers of the Getes were finally driven from the kingdom of Transoxiana. The abilities of Timour insensibly reconciled his equals to his authority, and at the age of thirty-four, in a general diet, he was invested with *imperial* command, and reigned over Zagatai and the East. His victories in thirty-five campaigns will be briefly recapitulated. I. in Persia; II. Tartary; and

and III. India; and will close with the interesting narrative of the Ottoman war.

I. Persia, from the Oxus to the Tigris, since the death of Aboufaid, the last of the descendants of Holagou, was left without a lawful sovereign. A.D. 1380. The Mogul invader was feebly and 1393. separately opposed by the petty tyrants who, for forty years, had oppressed the people. The whole course of the Tigris and the Euphrates, from the mouth to the sources of those rivers, was reduced to the obedience of Timour; the cities of Shiraz, Bagdad, and Edeffa, bowed to the yoke of the victor; his squadrons pierced the mountains of Georgia, and the Christian prince of Tafflis became the friend and proselyte of the indefatigable Mussulman.

II. In the invasion of Tartary, Timour was perhaps actuated by a just resentment, and the Getes were doomed in their turn to experience the calamities of war, which they had inflicted on Transoxiana. From the conquest of Cashgar, the armies of Zagatai overspread Kip- A.D. 1370. zak, or the western Tartary; pur- 1383. sued their flying enemies into the provinces of Russia; and returning to the banks of the Don, the destruction of the city of Azoph, at the mouth of that river, attested the baleful presence of Timour.

III. The conquest of Hindostan was at first opposed

opposed by the murmurs and discontents of the Tartar troops; but these were soon convinced, that the dangers of war were less dreadful than the displeasure of their sovereign. Timour was already informed by his spies of the weakness and the anarchy of Hindostan; and that the soubahs of the provinces despised and insulted the imbecility of the sultan Mahmood. The Mogul army consisted of ninety-two squadrons, each of a thousand horse; the mountains, between the Jihoon and the Indus, A. D. 1398. and which the Arabian geographers ^{1399.} style the stony girdles of the earth, were the most formidable obstacles, and numbers of the men and horses perished in the snow; but the invincible Timour surmounted every difficulty; he crossed the Indus, defeated, in the neighbourhood of Delhi, the army of Hindostan, and entered the capital in triumph. His soldiers were indulged in the bloody and tumultuous licence of a general massacre and pillage; and their leader advanced one hundred miles beyond Delhi, passed the Ganges, and returned, after this rapid campaign, along the skirts of the northern hills.

The ambitious designs of Bajazet hastened the retreat of Timour, whose vigour of body and mind was not impaired, or abated, by sixty-three years of incessant fatigue. He assembled at Is-
pahan

pahan the troops of the provinces of Persia, and his first operations were directed against the Christians of Georgia, who were left the only alternative of tribute, or the koran; descending from the hills, Timour received the ambassadors of Bajazet, and entered into a correspondence of mutual complaints and menaces. The first epistle of the Mogul emperor was not likely to reconcile the angry disposition of the Turkish sultan, whose family and nation he affected to despise.

“ What is the foundation of thy insolence and
“ folly? Thou hast fought some battles in the
“ woods of Anatolia: contemptible trophies!
“ Thou hast obtained some victories over the
“ Christians of Europe: thy sword was blessed
“ by the apostle of God; and thy obedience to
“ the precept of the koran, in waging war against
“ the Infidels, is the sole consideration that pre-
“ vents us from destroying thy country, the
“ frontier and bulwark of the Moslem world.
“ Be wise in time; reflect; repent; and avert
“ the thunder of our vengeance, which is yet
“ suspended over thy head. Thou art no more
“ than a pismire; why wilt thou seek to provoke
“ the elephants? Alas, they will trample thee
“ under foot.” The soul of Bajazet was deeply
stung by the language of such unusual contempt;
after pouring forth on his competitor the epithets
of thief and rebel of the Desert, and magnifying
his

his own forces and power, he descends to an insult of a more domestic kind. "If I fly from thy arms," said he, "may *my* wives be thrice divorced from my bed; but if thou hast not courage to meet me in the field, mayest thou again receive *thy* wives, after they have thrice endured the embraces of a stranger." These expressions, which violated the delicacy of the haram, converted the political quarrel of the monarchs into personal resentment; yet Timour, after the destruction of Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia, turned aside to the conquest of Syria and Egypt, and seemed to respect the pious warfare of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the siege of Constantinople.

The defence of Syria chiefly consisted in the fame and discipline of the Mamalukes; and the Tartar invader was opposed near Aleppo by a numerous, but disaffected army; several of the emirs had been seduced to betray their more loyal companions; the victorious Moguls entered with the fugitives the gates of Aleppo, and the citadel, which had been deemed
A. D. 1400.
impregnable, was surrendered by cowardice, or treachery. Timour affected, among the crowd of suppliants, to distinguish the doctors of the law; and, after some conversation on religion, he familiarly asked the cadhi his age. "Fifty years."

“ years.”—“ It would be the age of my eldest
 “ son : you see me here,” continued Timour,
 “ a poor, lame, decrepit mortal ; yet by my arm
 “ has the Almighty been pleased to subdue the
 “ kingdoms of Iran, Touran, and the Indies.
 “ I am not a man of blood : and God is my
 “ witness, that in all my wars I have never been
 “ the aggressor, and that my enemies have al-
 “ ways been the authors of their own calamity ;”

yet during this language of moderation, the streets
 of Aleppo streamed with blood ; and the natural
 cruelty of his soldiers was stimulated by the per-
 emptory command of an adequate number of
 heads, which, according to his custom, were
 curiously piled in columns and pyramids. Near
 Damascus the Tartars were more formidably en-
 countered by the armies of Egypt ; but the for-
 tune of Timour still prevailed ; and the victo-
 rious Mussulman, who was zealously attached to

A. D. 1401. the sect of Ali, avenged the injuries
 of his son Hosein, by reducing Da-
 mascus, which he had treacherously occupied,
 to ashes. On his return, from the same pious
 motives, he abandoned Aleppo to the flames ;
 and fully to display his character, he erected on
 the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of ninety thou-
 sand heads.

After again visiting Georgia, the Mogul em-
 peror proclaimed his intention of marching
 against

against the Turkish sultan, who had collected an army of four hundred thousand horse and foot, and was encamped near the ruins of Sebaste. Timour, with eight hundred thousand men, moved swiftly through the

A. D. 1402.

countries of Armenia and Anatolia; and, determined to fight in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, avoided the hostile camp, traversed the salt Desert and the river Halys, and invested Angora. Bajazet rapidly returned to the relief of that city, and the plains in the neighbourhood were the scene of a memorable and decisive battle. The Turkish monarch displayed

A. D. 1402.

the qualities of a soldier and a chief;

July 28.

but the minds of his troops were alienated by his rigour and avarice; part of his allies had been tempted by the emissaries of Timour; his son Soliman too hastily withdrew from the field; and his heavy armed janizaries were confounded by the swift and artful evolutions of the Tartar cavalry; their valour was oppressed by heat, thirst, and the weight of numbers; and the unfortunate sultan, who was afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was overtaken in his attempt to fly, and was led a captive to the tent of Timour; the Mogul emperor graciously advanced to meet him, seated him by his side, and his address was a mixture of reproach and pity.

"Alas!" said he, "the decree of fate is now

"accom-

“ accomplished by your own fault ; it is the web
 “ which you have woven, the thorns of the tree
 “ which you have planted. I wished to spare,
 “ and even to assist, the champion of the Mos-
 “ lems : you braved our threats ; you despised
 “ our friendship ; you forced us to enter your
 “ kingdom with our invincible armies. Behold
 “ the event. Had you vanquished, I am not
 “ ignorant of the fate which you reserved for
 “ myself and my troops. But I disdain to reta-
 “ liate : your life and honour are secure ; and
 “ I shall express my gratitude to God by my
 “ clemency to man.” In the feast of victory, to
 which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul emperor
 placed a crown on his head, with a solemn assur-
 -ance of restoring him with an increase of glory to
 the throne of his ancestors. But these generous
 declarations, which are extracted from the me-
 morials of the conqueror, were probably the sug-
 -gestions of a spirit harmonized by success. The
 attempt of the vanquished sultan to escape by
 digging a mine under his tent, provoked the jea-
 -lously of the Mogul ; the Turkish annals unani-
 -mously agree that the unfortunate Bajazet was
 confined in an iron cage, and reduced, in this
 humiliating restraint, to follow the perpetual
 A. D. 1403. marches of the victor, till his strength
 March, and spirits sunk under the accumu-
 -lated pressure of severity and insult.

On

On the defeat of Bajazet, the kingdom of Anatolia immediately submitted; and Mirza Mehemmed Sultan, the eldest of the grandsons of Timour, summoned, and was admitted into, Bourfa; but the avarice of the Tartars was disappointed; and Soliman in his flight had already passed over to Europe with the royal treasure. The grandson of Timour advanced to Nice, and the progress of the Moguls was only stopped by the waves of the Propontis. The emperor himself reduced, in fourteen days, Smyrna, which for seven years had been defended by the Rhodian knights against the arms of Bajazet; and the invincible armies and boundless ambition of Timour might aspire to the conquest and conversion of the kingdoms of the West, which already trembled at his name.

But the lord of so many myriads of horse, was not master of a single galley; and the narrow sea which rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia, was defended by the ships and fortifications of the Christians and Turks, who forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause. While they cautiously secured the passages of the Bosphorus, they soothed the pride, and gratified the avarice of the conqueror by flattery and presents; Soliman consented to hold by the patent of the Mogul emperor, the kingdom of Romania, which

he already possessed; and the Byzantine monarch submitted to pay the same tribute as had been extorted by the menaces of the Turkish sultan. Insatiate of victory, Timour already directed his attention towards the invasion of China; and while he himself slowly returned to his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months, he dispatched an army beyond the Sihoon, to subdue the Pagan Calmucks and Tartars, to form magazines in the Deserts, and to open for his march the road towards Pekin. After a few months spent at Samarcand in domestic and internal regulations, the veteran victor resumed his arms; he had already advanced three hundred miles from his capital, when he was attacked by a fever; the indiscreet use of iced water probably accelerated his fate; and the lord of Asia expired in the neighbourhood of Otrar, in the seventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatai. After his death a fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh, his youngest son: but before the expiration of a century, Transoxiana and Persia were trampled upon by the Uzbeks and the Turkmen; and the race of Timour was alone perpetuated in the descendants of a hero, who fled from the arms of the invaders to the conquest of Hindostan.

Of the five sons of Bajazet, Mustapha had disappeared

appeared in the battle of Angora, and his name was successively claimed by above thirty different pretenders; and Isa, Moufa, Soliman, and Mahomet, disputed, with the sword, the remnant of their father's dominions; but the genius, or fortune, of Mahomet soon gained the ascendant; and the lives and kingdoms of his brothers were gradually extinguished by his, or their own, arms. From the castle of Amasia he watched the moment of enterprise; with his superior force oppressed Isa; and declared himself the avenger of Soliman, who was surprised and slain by the ambition of Moufa. The contest between the two brothers ended in the triumph of Mahomet, and the eight years of his sole and peaceful A. D. 1413. reign were engaged in establishing on 1421. a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman empire. His last care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim, to guard the youth of his son Amurath. Bajazet was the victim of a new war kindled in Europe by the name of Mustapha; but the more fortunate Ibrahim extinguished the pretender, and delivered the Ottoman throne from the dangers of domestic contention.

Amidst their civil conflicts, the more prudent Turks had continually recommended and diligently forwarded the re-union of the empire; the vigilance and activity of the Christians might have precluded them from attaining this im-

portant object ; and had a confederate fleet occupied the straits of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, in Europe at least, would have been most probably annihilated ; but the improvident Christians either enjoyed their present respite, without looking forward to futurity, or were tempted by a momentary interest to promote the success of the permanent and common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoese, planted at Phocæa, on the Ionian coast, while they enjoyed the emoluments of a monopoly of allum, consented to remain the peaceable tributaries of the Turkish government. Adorno, the Genoese governor, had, in the civil dissensions of the Ottomans, embraced with ardour the party of Amurath ; and undertook, with seven stout gallies, to transport him to Europe. Some praise is due to the magnanimity of the sultan, who with five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ship, manned by eight hundred of the bravest Franks ; nor can we withhold our approbation from Adorno, who discharged his trust with exemplary fidelity. In a few years the venal service was properly recompensed by the ruin of the colony of Phocæa.

When Manuel abdicated the government of Constantinople, he expected the hourly subversion of the church and state ; he was surprised by the pleasing and successive intelligence of the
retreat,

retreat, overthrow, and the captivity of Bajazet; he immediately sailed from Modon in the Morea; was admitted into, and restored to the throne of, Constantinople, and banished his competitor John to the isle of Lesbos. Soliman, the son of Bajazet, apprehensive lest the Greeks should introduce the Moguls into Europe, solicited the alliance, and implored the protection of Manuel. He offered to hold the government of Romania as the gift of the emperor, and engaged for the restitution of Theffalonica, with the most important places along the Strymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. These terms, so ignominious to the Moslems, were productive of the enmity of Moufa, and the Turks renewed their hostile attempts on Constantinople; they were repulsed by sea and land; but the imprudence of Manuel, who ought carefully to have cherished the discord of the Ottomans, united him with Mahomet, the most formidable of the sons of Bajazet; he transported the sultan across the Bosphorus, entertained him in his capital, and by a sally from the walls opened the road to the conquest of Romania. The gratitude of Mahomet preserved the treaty inviolate, and in his last moments he bequeathed his two younger sons to the protection of the Greek emperor; but the divan pronounced the clause injurious to the national honour and religion, and

declared that the royal youths should never be abandoned to the custody of a Christian dog. On this refusal the councils of the Byzantine court were divided; but the aged emperor reluctantly yielded to the ardour of his son John. The real, or false Mustapha, had been long detained as a captive and hostage at Constantinople; he was now released, after subscribing a treaty by which he engaged to deliver Gallipoli as the price of his freedom; but he had scarce ascended the throne of Romania, before he declared to the ambassadors of Manuel, that he had rather be accused of violating his oath, than of delivering a Mussulman city into the hands of the Infidels.

The negociation of the Greek emperor with Mustapha aroused the resentment of Amurath, and the victory of that prince over his rival was

followed by the siege of Constantinople.
A. D. 1422.

The hopes of plunder and martyrdom attracted a crowd of volunteers; and two hundred thousand Turks encompassed the city of Constantine: but a domestic revolt recalled Amurath from the walls of the Byzantine capital to the protection of Bourfa; and while his faithful Moslems extended his dominions in Europe and Asia, he suspended, for thirty years, the fate of the Byzantine empire; the aged Manuel, oppressed

with years, resigned his sceptre and
A. D. 1428. breath, without beholding, though
not

not without foreseeing, the ruin of his house and the downfall of his religion ; and his son, John Palæologus, was permitted to ascend the vacant throne on the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, and the cession of almost all he held beyond the gates of the capital.

Although the origin of the Ottomans is obscure, yet their sacred right was soon implanted in the minds of their subjects ; and their invincible succession has been confirmed by five centuries, while the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty vizir, or a victorious general. The education and discipline of the Turks may be considered as the chief source of their attachment and submission ; the fifth slave had been rigorously exacted from the time of the first Amurath, to recruit the Ottoman armies ; and when the fifth of the captives was diminished by conquest, the fifth of the Christian children was substituted in their place. These, at the age of twelve years, were torn from their parents, and clothed, taught, and maintained for the service of the public. According to their various abilities, or inclination, they were allotted to the exercises of war, or the study of the koran, and the knowledge of the Arabic and Persian tongue. Without interest, without connections, and without friends, they were absolutely dependant on the nod of the

sultan, and it remained for him to select with judgment a constant succession of brave and able generals, and of wise and virtuous ministers.

At the critical moment, when the decided superiority of the Turks seemed to have extinguished in the Greeks all hopes of preservation, the invention of gunpowder, could the secret have been circumscribed within the pale of the church, might have checked the victorious progress of the disciples of Mahomet; but it was soon disclosed to the Turks; and the sultans had sense to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Christian engineer. It is most likely the Genoese first imparted the destructive mixture to Amurath, when they transported him from Asia to Europe, and joined his arms in the conquest of Hadrianople. The cannon that he used at the siege of Constantinople were probably cast by their hands; and though the first attempt proved unsuccessful, yet in the last attack fourteen batteries thundered against the devoted walls of the city; and the artillery of Constantinople was controlled and silenced by the superior fire of the Moslems,

CHAPTER XLIX.

APPLICATIONS OF THE EASTERN EMPERORS TO THE
POPE—VISITS TO THE WEST, OF JOHN THE FIRST,
MANUEL, AND JOHN THE SECOND, PALÆOLOGUS—UNION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN
CHURCHES—SCHISM OF THE GREEKS AND
LATINS—REIGN AND CHARACTER OF
AMURATH THE SECOND—CRUSADE
AND DEFEAT OF LADISLAUS, KING
OF HUNGARY—JOHN HUNIADES—
SCANDERBEG—CONSTANTINE
PALÆOLOGUS, LAST EMPE-
ROR OF THE EAST.

WHENEVER the Byzantine princes were encompassed with difficulties, or pressed by dangers, they courted the alliance, and implored the protection, of the pope and the Latins; but as soon as the hour of distress was over, they avowed their genuine hatred and contempt for the schismatics of the West. The first Palæologus, by
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an union with the Latin church, had averted the menaced thunders of the vatican, and the terrors of a hostile crusade; but his subjects, his favourites, and even his own relations, conspired against his peace, and reviled him as a heretic and apostate. The elder Andronicus throughout his life firmly maintained the profession and principles of orthodoxy; but the younger sought in the West an alliance and support against the rapid progress of the Turks, who had already achieved the conquest of Bithynia. His negotiations were frustrated by the situation and character of the reigning princes. The kings of France and Naples declined the danger and glory of a crusade; and pope Benedict the Twelfth, immersed in sloth and wine, listened coldly to the suspicious language of an union which was to be preceded by a pecuniary and military succour.

Cantacuzene, as soon as he had subdued his domestic enemies, solicited and received the approbation of the pope to the introduction of his Moslem allies into Europe, and to the marriage of his daughter with a Turkish prince; pope Clement the Sixth acknowledged the hard necessity of the emperor; he encouraged the idea of an union and a crusade, and with the Greek ambassadors, two Latin bishops returned as the ministers of the Roman pontiff. But the conferences of the emperor and the nuncios were only
filled

filled with mutual praises and promises, by which both parties were amused, and neither could be deceived. The death of Clement, and the different temper of his successor, banished even the hope of spiritual union, and Cantacuzene himself soon after was obliged to retire from the throne to the cloyster.

John Palæologus, alarmed by foreign invasion and domestic insurrection, in the hopes of foreign aid, subscribed a treaty, and submitted to an oath of fidelity and obedience to the Roman pontiffs. He stipulated in return the support of fifteen galleys, with five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, to serve against his Christian and Mussulman enemies; but the treaty was never executed; the humiliating concessions of the sovereign were involved in secrecy, and the Roman succours, and the Greek submission, were each neglected or withheld.

But when the Turkish torrent had swept away Adrianople and Romania, and was only resisted by the walls of Constantinople, the desponding Palæologus embarked himself for Venice, with the resolution of prostrating himself at the feet of the pope, and of arousing by the imperial presence the cold compassion of the princes of the West. Urban the Fifth, a prelate of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged the pilgrimage of the Greek prince, who acknowledged the supremacy
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of the Roman pontiff and the double procession of the Holy Ghost, and was in return entertained with attention and respect. But in vain did the successor of St. Peter endeavour to rekindle the zeal of the Western powers in favour of his proselyte. The different princes were cold in the general cause, and warmly engaged in their own domestic quarrels; and the disconsolate Palæologus found his return impeded by the Venetians, who detained him as their security for several sums which he had borrowed from the citizens of the republic. His eldest son Andronicus regarded his father's captivity with secret pleasure; but his second son Manuel immediately sold all he possessed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be responsible for the debt.

When Manuel ascended the imperial throne, he also determined, by the advice of the French marshal Boucicault, to visit and implore the supplies of the courts of the West. At Venice, Paris, and London, he was pitied, praised, and feasted; but the republic of Venice was attentive alone to her commercial interests; the French monarch was repeatedly afflicted with furious fits of insanity, and the reigns of government were alternately held and incessantly disputed by the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy; and Henry of Lancaster could not withdraw his person and
forces

forces from a throne continually assailed by conspiracy and rebellion. Yet Manuel on his return enjoyed one consolation, that in this trying situation he had neither degraded his dignity, nor bartered his religion.

The victories of Timour, and the dissensions of the sons of Bajazet, allowed Manuel to reign successive years in the maintenance of the national religion, and in peace and prosperity; but when Amurath invested the walls of Constantinople, Manuel was readily reconciled to the Roman pontiff, and soon converted to the double procession of the Holy Ghost. A friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and the West, and the secret intentions of the Byzantine monarch were unfolded to his colleague and successor, John Palæologus, in the presence of the historian Phranza, his favourite chamberlain. “Our last resource,” said Manuel, “against the Turks, is their fear of our
“ union with the Latins, of the warlike nations
“ of the West, who may arm for our relief and
“ their destruction. As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present this danger
“ before their eyes. Propose a council; consult
“ on the means; but ever delay and avoid the
“ convocation of an assembly, which cannot tend
“ either to our spiritual or temporal emolument.
“ The Latins are proud; the Greeks are obsti-
“ nate;

“ nate ; neither party will recede or retract ; and
“ the attempt of a perfect union will confirm
“ the schism, alienate the churches, and leave
“ us, without hope or defence, at the mercy of
“ the Barbarians.” Impatient of this salutary
lesson, the royal youth arose from his seat, and
departed in silence ; and the wise monarch thus
continued his discourse to Phranza. “ My son
“ deems himself a great and heroic prince ; but
“ alas ! our miserable age does not afford scope
“ for heroism or greatness. His daring spirit
“ might have suited the happier times of our
“ ancestors ; but the present state requires not an
“ emperor, but a cautious steward of the last relics
“ of our fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty
“ expectations which he built on our alliance
“ with Mustapha ; and much do I fear that his
“ rash courage will urge the ruin of our house,
“ and that even religion may precipitate our
“ downfall.”

The long life of Manuel was terminated in the
seventy-eighth year of his age, and in the mo-
nastic profession. His eldest son John succeeded
to the Byzantine throne ; his second, Andronicus,
was invested with the principality of Theffalo-
nica, and died soon after the final conquest of
that city by the Turks ; and the four younger,
Theodore and Constantine, Demetrius and Tho-
mas, received from their father the Peloponnesus,
or

or Morea; but their strength was wasted in domestic contests; and the least successful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependance in the Byzantine palace.

The avarice and sensual vices of successive Roman pontiffs had oppressed and scandalised the clergy themselves; and the council of Basil declared the representatives of the church was invested with a divine and spiritual jurisdiction over all Christians, without even excepting the pope. The resolution of the synod was supported by the emperor of Germany, the king of France, and the duke of Milan; the fathers of Basil invited the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople to unite with an assembly which had the confidence of the Western princes; they agreed to defray his travelling expences; to remit an immediate sum of eight thousand ducats for the accommodation of the Greek clergy; and in his absence to grant a supply of ten thousand ducats, with three hundred archers, and some gallies, for the protection of Constantinople. But Eugenius, who then filled the chair of St. Peter, was sensible of the importance of the emperor of the Greeks. He solicited his friendship; and to transport the Byzantine prince to Ferrara, which city was fixed on for the meeting of the synod, he dispatched nine gallies, with the persuasive argument of fifteen thousand ducats, and added the
most

most splendid promises. Palæologus recollected the advice of his father, and hesitated. Sigismund, the emperor of Germany, dissuaded him from the unseasonable adventure; and Amurath, who was apprehensive of the union of the Christians, offered from his own treasures to relieve the distress of the Byzantine Court; but at the same time he magnanimously declared that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate during the absence of her sovereign. The Greek emperor dismissed an ambiguous answer to the council of Nice, and embarked in the Roman galleys, with the aged patriarch Joseph, and a various retinue of bishops and ministers, of monks and philosophers.

The presence of the emperor added dignity to the party of Eugenius, and the fathers of Basil injured their cause by the violence of their proceedings. The Latins, after the labour of nine months, and the debates of twenty-five sessions, attained the advantage and glory of the reunion of the Greeks. Four principal questions had been agitated between the two churches. I. The use of unleavened bread in the communion of Christ's body. II. The nature of purgatory. III. The supremacy of the pope. And IV. The single or double procession of the Holy Ghost. The first and second, as least important, and most doubtful, were left to the customs of the different.

ferent countries, and to the proof of Hereafter; the third was qualified by the vague definition, that his jurisdiction should be exercised agreeable to the holy canons; but in regard to the fourth, it was agreed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and substance; that he proceeds *by* the son, being of the same nature and substance, and that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, by one *spiration* and production. The preliminary treaty may be more easily understood. The expences of the Greeks in their return home were to be defrayed by the pope, who engaged to maintain two gallies and three hundred soldiers for the defence of Constantinople; to oblige the pilgrims of Jerusalem to touch at that port; to furnish as often as required, ten gallies for a year, or twenty for six months; and to solicit the princes of Europe, if the emperor should require the aid of land-forces.

In the synod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and subscribed, and promised; but these signs of friendship were perfidious and fruitless. The subjects of the Latins complained that the union would be the instrument of oppression, and the Greeks received their emperor on his return with a general murmur of devout discontent. They had been flattered with an assurance of a powerful and immediate succour,

and depended on the science and orthodoxy of their clergy for an easy victory over the ignorant prelates of the West; doubly disappointed, they openly expressed their resentment; and the subscribing ecclesiastics, instead of justifying their conduct, deplored their weakness. “Alas! we
“ have been seduced by distress, by fraud, and
“ by the hopes and fears of a transitory life. The
“ hand that had signed the union should be cut
“ off; and the tongue that has pronounced the
“ Latin creed deserves to be torn from the root,” was the answer to the reproachful question, what had been the event of their Italian synod? While Eugenius triumphed in the union of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the palace of Constantinople; the zeal of Palæologus was already cooled; nor was he inclined to hazard his life and crown in support of the articles he had subscribed. His brother was ready to draw his sword in the defence of the national religion; and the Turkish sultan beheld with a jealous eye the apparent reconciliation of the Greeks and Latins.

The character of that prince has been minutely drawn by the historian of the Ottoman empire. “Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived for
“ ty-nine, and reigned thirty years, six months,
“ and eight days. He was a just and valiant
“ prince,

“ prince, of a great soul, patient of labours,
 “ learned, merciful, religious, charitable; a
 “ lover and encourager of the studious, and of
 “ all who excelled in any art or science; a good
 “ emperor, and a great general. No man ob-
 “ tained more or greater victories than Amurath:
 “ Belgrade alone withstood his attacks. Under
 “ his reign the soldier was ever victorious, the
 “ citizen rich and secure. If he subdued any
 “ country, his first care was to build moschs and
 “ caravanferas, hospitals and colleges. Every
 “ year he gave a thousand pieces of gold to the
 “ sons of the prophet; and sent two thousand
 “ five hundred to the religious persons of Mecca,
 “ Medina, and Jerusalem.” But the most sin-
 gular feature in the character of Amurath is his

repeated abdication. At forty he re-
 signed the sceptre to his son, and re-

A. D. 1442.

tired to the society of hermits and dervishes, who,
 contrary to the genius of the founder, had crept
 into the Mussulman religion. From the com-
 pany and penance of these fanatics, he was called
 by the unanimous wishes of the nation, and by
 the more doubtful invitation of his son to repel
 the Hungarian invasion. He fought

A. D. 1444.

and conquered, and again retired to
 pray, to fast, and to mortify his body; but the
 companions of his victory disdained the youthful
 hand which held in his absence the sceptre. The

streets of Hadrianople were filled with tumult; and the unbridled licence of the janizaries once more summoned Amurath from his pious occupations. The haughty troops confessed the voice of their leader; and the reluctant sultan was compelled to sustain the burthen of government till he was released by the angel of death.

An apprehension lest the Turks who approached, might invade the borders of Italy, reminded the Roman pontiff, Eugenius, of his promise to his Greek brethren; but the princes of Europe no longer flocked with impatience to the standard of holy wars; and even the suggestions of policy were disregarded by the most powerful nations of the West. The German emperor, Frederic the Third, was without power and without ability; The strength of France and England was impaired by their long and implacable hostilities. Yet Philip, duke of Burgundy, encouraged his subjects to oppose, at their own expence, the progress of the Moslems; and the republics of Venice and Genoa joined their fleets to the standard of St. Peter. But the most important accession were the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, united under the authority of Ladislaus, and animated by the valour and name of the heroic John Huniades. The Roman legate scattered with a liberal hand a treasure of pardons and indulgences; the

the gallant spirits of France and Germany enlisted individually under the holy banner; the Greek emperor engaged to guard the Bosphorus; the sultan of Caramania announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful diversion in Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West had occupied the straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy must have been dismembered and destroyed.

At the head of his confederate subjects, Ladislaus advanced into Bulgaria, and defeated two Turkish armies; thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives, graced his triumphal entry into Buda; but the most unequivocal proof of the importance of his victories was a deputation from the divan to solicit for peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontiers. The terms were accepted, and the treaty was already signed, and sanctioned by a mutual oath, when intelligence was received, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy, were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies impatiently expected the arrival of the victorious army of Ladislaus: "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal legate, who had fullenly observed the late negotiation, "that you will desert their expectations and your own fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your

“ fellow-Christians, that you have pledged your
“ faith ; and that prior obligation annihilates a
“ rash and sacrilegious vow to the enemies of
“ Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff, without whose sanction you can neither
“ promise nor perform. In his name I absolve
“ your perjury, and sanctify your arms. Follow
“ my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation ; and if ye still have scruples, devolve on
“ my head the punishment and the sin.” The pernicious casuistry of the Roman prelate was applauded, and seconded with inconsiderate levity ; war was again proclaimed, and Ladislaus resumed his arms in the delusive hope of delivering the Eastern church from the dominion of the disciples of Mahomet ; but the French and Germans had departed on the first intimation of peace ; the Poles were exhausted by a distant warfare ; and in this second expedition the forces of the Hungarian monarch scarce amounted to twenty thousand men. They directed their march through a level country, along the shores of the Euxine ; but when they arrived at Warna, near the sea coast, instead of being joined, as they fondly expected, by their allies, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath, who had relinquished his solitude, and had passed over with the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe.

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The imputation of cowardice and treachery has been fixed on the Greek emperor and the Genoese, who engaged to guard, and who betrayed, the passage of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. The sultan pressed forwards from Adrianople at the head of sixty thousand men, and when the Christians discerned the order and superior numbers of the Turks, even Huniades advised an hasty retreat; but the king was resolved to conquer or to die; the Turkish squadrons on the right and left were charged and dispersed; but the rash victors were carried away by the heat of the pursuit; and the centre, in which Ladislaus fought, was oppressed and broken by the janizaries, led on by Amurath in person. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, the horse of the Hungarian king was pierced by the javelin of the Turkish sultan; the fallen prince was instantly transfixd by the spears of the infantry; and as a Turkish soldier proclaimed, " Hungarians, behold the head of your king!" his troops saw, trembled, and fled. Huniades on his return from his headlong pursuit, deplored his irreparable error, and the unfortunate fate of his sovereign; his courage and conduct preserved the remnant of his Walachian cavalry; but ten thousand Christians perished in the disastrous field of Warna, and among these, the least to be lamented was the

cardinal Julian, who had advised the violation of the treaty.

The public opinion called to the administration of Hungary, during the minority of Ladislaus of Austria the nominal king, John Huniades; and in a reign of twelve years he displayed the policy of a statesman, and the valour of a warrior. His courage had been early signalised in Italy, and his reputation was confirmed by the defence of the Hungarian borders, and by three victories over the Turks in the same year; four years after the battle of Warna, he penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria; and till the third day withstood, in the plain of Cossova, the repeated attacks of a Turkish army four times more numerous than his own. The defence of Belgrade, against the powers and person of Mahomet the Second, was the last and most glorious action of his life; and the Turks, even after they had entered the town, were compelled to retreat by the undaunted valour of Huniades. He A. D. 1456. survived to enjoy his triumph about a month; the gratitude of the Hungarians, on the first vacancy raised to the throne his son Matthias Corvinus, who in a long and prosperous reign blended the glory of a conqueror with the piety of a saint.

But a more formidable champion in Albania opposed the progress of the Ottoman arms, asserted

serted the honour of the Christian name, and delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John of Castriot, the father of Scanderbeg, was the hereditary prince of a small district of Albania, and, unable to contend with the sultan, delivered as the pledges of his fidelity, his four sons, who were educated in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the exercise of arms. The three elder perished without reputation, though not without suspicion of poison. But George Castriot soon distinguished himself by his courage and strength; and *Iskender* Beg (Scanderbeg) or the lord Alexander, attained the favour of the sultan Amurath. The loss of his father's principality was compensated by the command of a thousand horse, and he served with honour in the wars of Europe and Asia; whatever sense he might entertain of his father's wrongs, whatever might be his secret inclinations towards Christianity, it was not till the age of forty that he openly avowed his religious sentiments, and broke the chain of his slavery. While he commanded the van guard of the Turkish army, he privately negotiated with Huniades, and amidst the tumult of a defeat, occasioned by his own desertion, he extorted by his dagger from the reis effendi, or principal secretary, a patent for the government of Albania. With some bold companions, to whom he had revealed his design, he escaped from the field

field of battle to his paternal mountains. No sooner had he possessed himself, by means of the royal mandate, of the fortress of Croya, than he disdained any further dissimulation, and invited the Albanians, a martial race, to join the standard of religion and freedom. The Ottoman garrisons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptism; and in the assembly of the estates of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish war. Under his conduct, the Albanians believed themselves, and became invincible. His standing militia consisted only of eight thousand horse and seven thousand foot; but on the first approach of an enemy, the blaze of the beacons summoned the warlike youth of the nation to their different posts. During twenty-three years, he baffled the powers of the Ottoman empire, though commanded by two of the greatest and most enterprising princes. Amurath entered Albania at the head of his valiant janizaries; but, after a fruitless siege, he was compelled to retire from the walls of Croya; and the disappointment contributed perhaps to shorten his days; Mahomet the Second condescended, by his lieutenants, to negotiate a truce with the Albanian prince, and to acknowledge his independence; but before his death Scanderbeg seems to have been oppressed by the irresistible weight of the Turks; his resources

sources were nearly exhausted ; he was reduced to demand of Pius the Second a refuge in the ecclesiastical dominions, and he expired a fugitive at Lessus on the Venetian territory. His infant son was saved amidst the destruction of his country ; and his blood still flows in the noblest families of Naples ; a colony of the Albanese obtained a settlement in Calabria, and they preserve at this day the language and manners of their ancestors.

The passage of the Turks over the Bosphorus had exposed the character of John Palæologus to suspicion, and he expired four years after the disastrous battle of Warnæ ; of his five brothers, Andronicus was dead, and Isidore had embraced the monastic profession ; Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, were the remaining princes of the royal family ; of these, the first and last were distant in the Morea ; but Demetrius was already possessed of the adjacent territory of Selybria, and in the suburbs, at the head of a party ; his claim was built on the weak foundation of his being born after his father ascended the throne, and that he was the eldest son of his reign ; his pretensions were opposed by the empress-mother ; and the senate and soldiers, the clergy and the people, were unanimous in the support of Constantine. An embassy to claim the protection of Hadrianople, reveals the weakness

ness of the Greek, and proclaims the supremacy of the Turkish, empire. Amurath readily acknowledged the superior claims of the eldest son, and dismissed the ambassador with splendid gifts and his gracious approbation. In the spring, Constantine sailed from the Morea, escaped the doubtful encounter of a Turkish squadron, and landed at Constantinople amidst the acclamations of his subjects. To his brothers Demetrius and Thomas he resigned the possession of the Morea, and endeavoured, by the frail security of oaths and embraces, to establish between them a sincere and permanent friendship; their union might have delayed, their discord invited the dangerous aid of Mahomet, and hastened their final ruin.

The first care of Constantine, after he had established his authority, was to seek in a consort an honourable and advantageous alliance. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed, but the Byzantine nobles represented the inferior condition of an elective magistrate to an hereditary monarch; and in the distress of Constantinople, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Phranza, the historian, was dispatched to the courts of Trebizond and Georgia, and after an embassy of two years, decided in favour of a Georgian princess, whose father offered a portion of fifty-six thousand,

thousand, and an annual pension of five thousand, ducats. The minister on his return was received with confidence and friendship by his sovereign, who ratified the treaty, and disclosed to his faithful servant his inmost thoughts and designs; he complained of the arrogance of Lucas Notaras, the great admiral, who affected in public and private to controul his sentiments and actions; he proposed to dispatch Phranza in the ensuing spring to engage his brothers to solicit the alliance of the West; thence he was to proceed to Cyprus on a particular commission; and lastly, the ambassador was to direct his course to Georgia, to receive and conduct the future empress; but while Constantine meditated these designs, Amurath was no more; Mahomet had succeeded to the Ottoman throne; and the various negociations of the Greek emperor were intercepted by a Turkish war, which involved his family and empire in final ruin.

CHAPTER L.

REIGN AND CHARACTER OF MAHOMET THE SECOND
—SIEGE, ASSAULT, AND FINAL CONQUEST, OF
CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS—DEATH OF
CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS.

MAHOMET, during the life of his father, had twice possessed, and as often resigned, the Ottoman sceptre; he was entrusted with the government of Magnesia, when he received the unexpected intelligence of the death of Amurath, and his rapid return to Hadrianople awed the mutinous disposition of the janizaries; the source of sedition was quelled by an instant order for the execution of his brothers; one only, Calapin, escaped to Rome, was baptised under the name of Callistus Othomannus, and ended an obscure, but peaceable, life, on an estate in Austria, which had been presented him by Frederic the Third.

The person and character of the conqueror of
Con-

Constantinople attracts, and even commands our attention. Mahomet the Second was early educated in, and zealously professed, the observance of the koran; age and empire might insensibly relax his rigid obedience to the laws of the prophet; but so scrupulously were they fulfilled at first by the son of Amurath, that as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, he was distinguished by his rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and to his native tongue were added the acquisition of the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldean, the Latin, and the Greek languages. History and geography, astrology and mathematics, confessed the variety of his literary pursuits; and his taste for the arts was displayed by his liberal invitation, and reward, of the painters of Italy. His sobriety is attested by the silence of the Turkish annals, which accuse, of the Ottoman line, only Soliman the First, Selim the Second, and Amurath the Fourth, of the vice of drunkenness; but his thirst of dominion and of conquest was unbounded; his cruelty, after victory, was often insatiate; and his unnatural lust too frequently dishonoured the noblest of the captive youth; with an extensive territory, an immense revenue, and an innumerable and well-disciplined army, his victorious career was checked

checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and the Persian king.

The ambassadors of Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate the accession, and solicit the friendship of Mahomet the Second; his language was that of peace and moderation. He ratified with fair assurances and solemn oaths the treaty with the Greeks, and assigned an annual pension of three hundred thousand aspers for the maintenance of an Ottoman prince who was detained at his desire at the Byzantine court; but he retrenched with severity the pomp of his father's household; and the income, which had been formerly diverted to the luxury of a court, was rigidly applied to the maintenance of the army. He visited in person, and accompanied by a formidable force, the Asiatic provinces; and, after humbling the pride, accepted the submission of the sultan of Caramania.

But the attention of Mahomet was incessantly fixed upon Constantinople; he pronounced that no promises ought to bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; the imprudence of the Byzantine ambassadors afforded him too fair a pretence; instead of endeavouring to escape his observation, they obtruded themselves on his notice with clamorous demands for the payment, and even the increase of their annual stipend; their indiscretion was reproved by the vizir,

vizir, a secret friend to the Christians. “Ye
“ foolish and miserable Romans,” said Calil,
“ we know your devices, and ye are ignorant of
“ your own danger! the scrupulous Amurath is
“ no more; his throne is occupied by a young
“ conqueror whom no laws can bind, and no
“ obstacles can resist; and if you escape from his
“ hands, give praise to the divine clemency,
“ which yet delays the chastisement of your sins.
“ Why do you seek to affright us by vain
“ and indirect menaces? Release the fugitive
“ Orchan, crown him sultan of Romania; call
“ the Hungarians from beyond the Danube;
“ arm against us the nations of the West; and
“ be assured that you will only provoke and pre-
“ cipitate your own downfall;” but the stern
language of the vizir was effaced by the courteous
speeches of Mahomet. He promised on his re-
turn to Hadrianople to redress the grievances of
the Greeks: but he had scarce passed the Helles-
pont, before he issued an order to stop their pen-
sion, and resolved to erect a strong castle on the
side of the Bosphorus, facing a fortification on
the Asiatic shore, which had been raised by his
grandfather. On a spot called Asomaton, only
five miles distant from the Greek capital, a thou-
sand masons were directed to assemble in the en-
suing spring. In vain did the ambassadors of

the emperor represent that this double fortification was a violation of the treaty ; that it would command the streight, interrupt the trade of the nations of the West, and intercept, at discretion, the subsistence of Constantinople. “ I form no
“ enterprize,” replied the perfidious sultan,
“ against the city ; but the empire of Constanti-
“ nople is measured by her walls. Have you
“ forgot the distress to which my father was re-
“ duced, when you formed a league with the
“ Hungarians ; when they invaded our country
“ by land, and the Hellespont was occupied by
“ the French gallies ? Amurath was compelled
“ to force the passage of the Bosphorus ; and
“ your strength was not equal to your malevo-
“ lence. I was then a child at Hadrianople ;
“ the Moslems trembled ; and for awhile the
“ Infidels insulted our disgrace. But when my
“ father had triumphed in the field of Warná,
“ he vowed to erect a fort on the western shore,
“ and that vow it is my duty to accomplish.
“ Have ye the right, have ye the power, to
“ control my actions on my own ground ? for
“ that ground *is* my own : as far as the shores of
“ the Bosphorus, Asia is inhabited by the Turks,
“ and Europe is deserted by the Romans. Re-
“ turn, and inform your king, that the present
“ Ottoman is far different from his predecessors ;
“ that

“ that *his* resolutions surpass *their* wishes; and
“ that *he* performs more than *they* could resolve.
“ Return in safety—but the next who delivers a
“ similar message may expect to be flayed alive.”

Constantine, after this declaration, would have unsheathed the sword; but he was dissuaded by his ministers, who advised him by patience to brand the Ottoman with the guilt of an aggressor, and to depend upon chance and time for the safety of the city, and for the destruction of the hostile fort.

On the twenty-fifth of March the appointed spot of Asomaton was crowded with Turkish artificers; the fortress was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a strong and massy tower; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the sea-
A. D. 1452.

shore. A thickness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the whole building was covered with a solid platform of lead. The Greek emperor had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields of his subjects; but the orders that guard received, was to turn the horses and mules of the camp into the pastures of the Romans, and to defend their brethren, if molested by the Infidels. Such instructions could not fail to embroil the two nations; and several, on both sides, were slain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet received with joy the

complaints of his subjects; a numerous detachment was sent to avenge their pretended injuries; the gates of Constantinople were shut, and all further intercourse precluded. The emperor was yet desirous of averting the menaced destruction; he released the Turkish captives, and expressed in a last letter the resignation of a Christian, and the fortitude of a soldier. "Since
"neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can
"secure peace, pursue," said he to Mahomet,
"your impious warfare. My trust is in God
"alone; if it should please him to mollify your
"your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change:
"if he delivers the city into your hands, I submit without a murmur to his holy will;
"but until the judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and
"die in the defence of my people." The sultan's answer was hostile and decisive; his fortifications were completed; and he demanded a tribute from the ships of every nation which passed within reach of his cannon. A Venetian vessel first presumed to refuse; she was sunk by a single ball; the master and crew deferred their fate by entering their boats; but they were dragged in chains to the *Porte*, and on refusing to profess the faith of Mahomet, their chief was impaled alive, and his companions beheaded.

While the son of Amurath consumed his
weary

weary hours at Hadrianople, his eyes and thoughts were continually directed towards the capital of the Greeks. The friendship of Calil, the grand vizir, for the Christians, had branded him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster-brother of the Infidels; and his avarice had engaged him in a treasonable correspondence, which, after the conclusion of the war, was detected and punished. In the middle of the night he was summoned to attend his royal master; he filled a cup full of gold, hastened to the palace, and presented, according to the custom of the East, his offering of gratitude. "It is not my wish," said Mahomet, "to resume my gifts, but rather
"to heap and multiply them on thy head. In
"my turn I ask a present far more valuable and
"important;—Constantinople." As soon as the vizir had recovered from his surprise, "the
"same God," said he, "who has already given
"thee so large a portion of the Roman empire,
"will not deny the remnant, and the capital.
"His providence, and thy power, assure thy
"success; and myself, with the rest of thy faithful slaves, will sacrifice our lives and fortunes."
"Lala," (or preceptor) continued the sultan,
"do you see this pillow? all the night, in my
"agitation, I have pulled it on one side and
"the other; I have risen from my bed, again
"have I laid down; yet sleep has not visited

“ my weary eyes. Beware of the gold and silver
“ of the Romans ; in arms we are superior ;
“ and with the aid of God, and the prayers of
“ the prophet, we shall speedily become masters
“ of Constantinople.” With a similar ardour he
pressed a founder of cannon, a Dane, or Hun-
garian, who, almost starved in the Greek service,
had deserted to the Moslems. “ Am I able to
“ cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball, or
“ stone, of sufficient size, to batter the walls of
“ Constantinople ?” “ I am not ignorant,”
answered the renegado, “ of their strength ; but
“ were they more solid than those of Babylon, I
“ could oppose an engine of superior power : the
“ position and management of that engine must
“ be left to your engineers.” From a foundery at
Hadrianople, Urban produced a piece of brass
ordnance, the bore of which measured twelve
palms, and the stone ball weighed above six
hundred pounds. On the first experiment, a
proclamation was issued to admonish the people
against the effects of astonishment and fear. The
explosion was felt in a circuit of an hundred fur-
longs ; the ball was driven above a mile, and on
the spot where it fell, buried itself above a fathom
deep in the ground.

While the sultan was assiduously employed in
hostile preparations, the emperor importuned the
princes of the West with fruitless solicitations.

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The Roman pontiff was hardened against the Greeks by their obstinacy and falsehood, and if in their last exigency he yielded to the dictates of compassion, his support was tardy and ineffectual; and Constantinople was taken before the fleets of Venice and Genoa had sailed from their respective harbours. The princes of the Greek islands and the Morea affected to preserve an impolitic neutrality, and the Genoese of Galata were deceived by the sultan with the hope, that their colony might survive the fall of the empire. A crowd of timid plebeians fled the devoted city, and the fears of the vulgar were sanctioned by the example of the noble; that wealth which might have defended the freedom and religion of Constantinople, was cautiously secreted by its owners; and the inconsiderate avarice of the Greeks denied to the entreaties of their prince, the treasures they were soon compelled to yield to the menaces of their enemies: yet Constantine, indigent and deserted, shrunk not from the approaching peril; and if his strength was inadequate to the contest, his mind, at least, was equal to the danger.

Early in the spring, the towns and villages which yet acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Greeks, were overwhelmed by a torrent of Turks. The inhabitants of Selybria alone had fortitude enough to hazard a resistance, and

A. D. 1453. while they were pressed by land, they boldly launched their boats, pillaged the opposite shore of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public market; but they yielded on the approach of Mahomet; and the Turkish sultan pitched his standard before the gate of St. Romanus, and, on the sixth of April, invested Constantinople with two hundred and fifty-eight thousand men.

The motley crew of mechanics and priests, of women, and of men inferior to women in courage, which still inhabited Constantinople, might amount to one hundred thousand; but on a diligent survey only four thousand nine hundred and seventy citizens were to be found able and willing to bear arms, and worthy of the name of *Romans*. These were reinforced by two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese, whose hopes of victory were animated by the promised recompense of the isle of Lemnos. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour. The Christian ships, which successively arrived, were detained for the public service; and a city, which extended thirteen or sixteen miles, was defended by seven or eight thousand soldiers, against the united power of the Ottoman empire.

The distress of Constantine revived the idea of an union with the Latins, which had been renounced.

nounced before the death of his brother John Palæologus. His ambassadors were instructed to declare that temporal aid would be followed by spiritual obedience. Six months before the final capture of Constantinople, cardinal Isidore was dispatched by pope Nicolas the Fifth with a retinue of priests and soldiers; in the church of St. Sophia, the two nations joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; A. D. 1454.
Dec. but the Greeks beheld with horror this religious union; the church which had been polluted by the ministry of a Latin priest was instantly deserted; the frantic people abjured all communion with the present or future associates of the Latins, and Lucas Notaras, the great duke, was heard to declare that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara, or a cardinal's hat.

In the beginning of the siege, the Greeks had boldly sallied from the walls, but prudence soon suggested to them to husband their scanty forces. Yet the volunteers, inspired by their heroic emperor, displayed the virtue and courage of ancient Romans, and the auxiliaries maintained that martial reputation which had been acquired by the warriors of the West. The Turkish artillery was superior to that of the Christians; their stock of gunpowder daily diminished, and they feared to plant on the walls their heavy cannon,

non, lest the aged structure should be overthrown by the explosion. The Moslems had already pushed their approaches to the ditch; but their attempts during day to fill the enormous chasm, were frustrated by the nightly toil of the Christians; the skill of the miners was baffled by the rocky soil; but a wooden turret was successfully advanced towards the walls. It was protected by a three-fold covering of bull's hides; incessant volleys were securely fired from the loopholes; and the height of it enabled the besiegers to combat hand to hand with the besieged on the rampart. The tower of St. Romanus was overthrown; and though the Turks were repulsed at night, yet they hoped in the morning to renew the combat with decisive advantage; but at dawn of day the sultan beheld with astonishment the persevering valour and labours of the besieged; each moment of darkness had been improved with activity by the emperor and Justiniani; and by the return of light, the wooden turret was reduced to ashes, the ditch cleared and restored, and the tower of St. Romanus again strong and entire.

On the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negociated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies; five ships, one of which bore the imperial flag, and the four others that of Genoa, sailed from the harbour of Chios for the service of
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the capital. They passed with a strong and favourable gale through the Hellespont and the Propontis; but the city was already invested by sea and land, and the Turkish fleet, in the form of a crescent, stretched from shore to shore, at the entrance of the Bosphorus. The five Christian ships continued their course with cheerful shouts, against a hostile force of three hundred vessels; the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were crowded with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. But the fleet of the Moslems, except eighteen gallies of some force, consisted of open boats, their sailors were awkward, and the Janizaries trembled on an element to which they had never been accustomed. The Christian Squadron was manned by the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea; their weight scattered the obstacles that impeded their passage; their artillery swept the waters; and their liquid fire was poured on the heads of their adversaries. In two different attacks the Turks were repulsed with loss; the voice and presence of Mahomet on the beach urged them to a third attempt; the passions of his soul, the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and with a fearless and impotent effort the haughty Mussulman spurred his horse into the sea; but
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he was compelled to behold the reiterated defeats of his subjects ; the fleet of the Moslems fled in disorder to the shores of Asia and Europe, while the Christian squadron steered triumphant along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour.

As long as the sea was open to the Greeks, the reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless. The genius of Mahomet conceived the bold design of transporting his lighter vessels by land, about ten miles, from the Bosphorus to the higher part of the harbour. The Genoese of Galata, who might have impeded the passage, still flattered themselves with the idea of averting their destruction by submission. A level way was covered by strong and solid planks, and these were rendered more slippery by the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore light galleys and brigantines were successively arranged upon rollers, and drawn forward by the power of men and pulleys : in one night they accomplished this novel voyage, and were launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a mole of fifty cubits in breadth, and one hundred in length, and mounted on it one of his largest cannon ; in an attempt to destroy the
unfinished

unfinished works, the foremost galliots of the Greeks were sunk or taken; forty gallant Christian youths were inhumanly massacred by the command of the sultan, and Constantine could only avenge their fate by exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Mussulmen.

A siege of forty days proclaimed the approaching ruin of Constantinople; the breaches were increased, the garrison was diminished, and the remnant of Christian strength was impaired by discord. The Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and Lucas Notaras mutually accused each other of cowardice and treachery. The twenty-ninth of May was fixed by the sultan, and was sanctioned by his favourite science of astrology, for the fatal and final assault. The dervishes proclaimed to those who should fall in the holy enterprise immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. The sultan promised the temporal incentive of double pay. "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine: but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty: be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire; the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople, shall be rewarded with the government

“ment of the fairest and most wealthy; and my
“gratitude shall accumulate his honours and his
“fortunes above the measure of his own hopes.”

Such potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, and the camp resounded with the shouts of “God is God! there is but one
“God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God!”

The minds of the Christians were agitated with far different passions; despair and fear by turns occupied their bosoms; the noblest of the youths were summoned by Palæologus to the imperial palace, and he vainly attempted to infuse into their minds the hope to which he himself was a stranger. Yet this band of warriors was animated by the example of their prince; with a few faithful companions, the emperor entered the dome of St. Sophia, and devoutly received the sacrament of the holy communion; he solicited the pardon of those whom he might have injured; and after a few moments repose in the palace, he mounted his horse to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy.

The foremost ranks of the Moslems consisted of a various crowd, without order or discipline, but inflamed with the spirit of enthusiasm; the Greeks were fatigued with the incessant slaughter, and the ditch was filled with the innumerable bodies of the assailants. To these succeeded the more regular troops of Anatolia and Romania,

nia, led on by their respective bashaws ; but the Christians still maintained their superiority ; and the voice of the emperor was heard exhorting his companions and subjects by a last effort to atchieve the deliverance of their country ; but in the moment of lassitude, the janizaries rose fresh and vigorous, and poured the fury of their arms on their faint and feeble opponents. The tide of battle was impelled by the sultan himself, who on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, reproved the tardy, and applauded the ardent. A bullet or arrow had pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani, and the wounded chief withdrew from his station. His retreat was perceived by the emperor : “ Your wound,” exclaimed Palæologus, “ is slight ; the danger is pressing ; your presence is necessary ; and whither will you retire ! ” “ I will retire,” said the trembling Genoese, “ by the same road which God has opened to the Turks.” At these words he passed through a breach of the inner walls, and sacrificed his honour to preserve at Galata a few hours of life, embittered by his own reflections, and the reproach of the public.

His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries ; and the defence became every moment more slack, and the assault more vigorous. Hassan, the janizary, was the first who mounted the walls, and deserved the reward
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of the sultan. A crowd of Turks impetuously succeeded; and the Greeks driven from the rampart were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. The remnant of the nobles still fought round the person of the emperor; his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head!" His last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. He had before prudently cast away the purple; in the confusion of the attack, he fell by an unknown hand; his body was buried under a monument of slain, and was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes. With his life resistance expired; the Turks poured in on every side; the walls which had defied the Goths, which had resisted the united force of the Avars and the Persians, now yielded to the superior enthusiasm of the Moslems; and the race of Othman, the disciples of Mahomet, established their government and their religion in the palace and the churches which had been founded by Constantine.

BY the capture of Constantinople, and the death of the last of the Cæsars, the Roman empire might be considered as extinguished. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas, the two surviving brothers of Palæologus, descended

scended from their tottering thrones, resigned their sceptres to the Turkish conqueror, and submitted to acknowledge his clemency and slumber through life in a state of servile dependence. The lofty genius of Mahomet aspired to the conquest of Italy; but his dreams of dominion were dissipated by the summons of death, and ancient Rome was probably preserved, by his seasonable fate, from the menaced yoke of the Moslem victors.

Pope Sixtus had already prepared to abandon the venerable city; he was saved from a disgraceful flight beyond the Alps by the welcome intelligence that Mahomet the Second was no more. The authority of the Roman pontiffs was soon confirmed by habit and opinion; but the seat of their government had equally suffered from the hostile enterprises of the christians and barbarians, and time and nature had mutually conspired against the ancient mistress of the Roman world. In the fourteenth century her temples were prostrate, her columns broken, her statues overthrown; the lofty capitol, the seat of heroes and of demi-gods, was overgrown by vines and brambles; and the Forum, where the Roman people enacted their laws and elected their magistrates, was allotted to the purposes of vegetation, or portioned into sties, and polluted by the most filthy of the animal creation. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the revenues and attention of

Julius the Second, Léo the Tenth, and Sixtus the Fifth, were directed to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity : The fallen columns were once more erected ; three of the eleven aqueducts were carefully explored and repaired, and new temples and palaces were decorated by the pencil of Raphael and the chissel of Michael Angelo. Even after the lapse of so many revolving centuries, Rome still attracts the presence and commands the admiration of the learned and curious traveller ; he views with rapture the glowing figures of the sculptor and the painter, he gazes with astonishment on the stupendous works of ancient magnificence, and traces with devout veneration the footsteps of heroes and of consuls.

F I N I S.

111
138
249

